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THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  

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AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XLVII.

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THE  
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ART. I.—DISCOVERY OF THE ANCIENT NINEVEH.\*

MANY rare qualities must be united to make an English traveller of the first class,—sure-footed common sense, high-toned self-respect, and a thirst for knowledge, with a prevalent flavor of that “genuine old Teutonic pluck,” which carries John Bull in equal triumph through a steeple-chase, a Highland deer-stalking, ♣ a midsummer morning at Waterloo. We expect from him a straight-forward, vernacular way of telling his story, with a gentleman’s hatred of pedantry and cant, and only so much vanity as may be lodged under the cloak of patriotism. Even among men of this stamp, Mr. Layard has at once taken a place in the foremost rank. He has proved himself, by his steady perseverance, his generous self-devotion, his quick decision, and his exquisite tact, to be equal to the most critical emergencies, and by his gracefully modest, but manly narrative, to the more delicate trial of recording his own astonishing success. He appears, indeed, to have the power of adapting himself at once to new situations and circumstances. He is equally ready for a lion-hunt in Susiana or a gazelle-chase in Assyria;

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\* *Nineveh and its Remains: with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians.* By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, ESQ., D. C. L. In two volumes. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 8vo. pp. 326 and 373.

he joins in the debkè with Arabs, or the jerid with Kurds ; he relishes the wild life of the rover of the desert, and cheerfully accepts the simple hospitality of the mountaineer. He has all the painstaking minuteness of an antiquary, with the free and liberal humanity of one who has known his fellow-men under every form.

We know not which is more to be congratulated, Mr. Layard, in having been allowed to introduce Nineveh to modern society, or the ancient daughter of Assyria herself, in having met with so considerate and gentlemanlike an admirer. Ignorant as she must needs be of the nineteenth century, she cannot know the full extent of her felicity in having fallen into the hands of a practical, sober-minded Englishman. The first impression in such cases is everything. Mr. Layard has thrown around her the charm of his own character, and presented her in a most amiable and interesting light. She might have been consigned to pedants or coxcombs, who would have given us a Gallic daub or a Saxon skeleton, instead of a genuine likeness. And surely, a more imposing field never offered itself to an adventurous traveller than that which Mr. Layard has cultivated with such success. Nineveh has been fortunate ; our traveller has been fortunate ; and every reader of his work, we are sure, will deem himself fortunate.

We wish we knew more of this interesting man, for it is impossible to forget him even in the record of his striking discoveries. Our acquaintance with him ripens fast into personal regard ; and we soon cease to wonder at the sway he gained alike over the Arab of the desert and the Christian of the mountain. He takes us with him in his plans, his pleasures, and his toils, with the irresistible attraction of a hearty and generous nature. A character so well balanced must have been built on a foundation of instructive and entertaining experience. We have found, however, no notices of his previous life, except in his own rare and cursory reminiscences, and two or three papers communicated by him or his fellow-travellers to the valuable, but necessarily prosaic, *Journal of the London Geographical Society*. From these sources we learn that he is an Oriental wanderer of at least nine years' standing, and in that time has diverted himself with various excursions in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Khuzistan, undertaken apparently from the sheer love of adventure and inquiry, and sometimes in the face of

serious danger. One of these jaunts was to visit some ancient sites in the land of the Bakhtiyari mountaineers, a race descended from those Parthians who destroyed the legions of Crassus. We have the testimony of Lieutenant Selby, who had known him in the East, to the "perseverance, forbearance, aptitude, and amiability," which had carried him in safety through a wild region in which two English travellers had recently perished, and had enabled him to establish a friendly feeling between these rude mountaineers and the English, the good effects of which Lieutenant Selby himself experienced. The volumes before us are full of the same traits ; and we are much mistaken if the administrative and diplomatic ability displayed by Mr. Layard, in the peculiar circumstances in which he has been placed, do not hereafter raise him to eminent distinction in his country's service.

Mr. Layard himself has informed us how his attention was drawn to the ruins of Nineveh. In the spring of 1840, he arrived at Mosul, on the Tigris, after a journey through Asia Minor and Syria, in which, to use his own words, he had scarcely left "uptrod one spot hallowed by tradition, or unvisited one ruin consecrated by history." While he was on a short excursion into the desert, he saw at a distance, for the first time, the vast mound which bears the name of Nimroud, and which afterwards became the scene of those explorations which have revealed the capital of Assyria to the gaze of the world.\* A few days after, as he was descending the Tigris to Baghdad, he had a nearer view of this mound ; and so greatly was his curiosity excited, that he determined at a future day to explore it. In 1842, he was once more at Mosul, on his way to Constantinople. Here he found that M. Botta, the resident French Consul, had commenced excavations in a large mound, opposite to Mosul, called Kouyunjik (the Little Lamb), but only with scanty results. Shortly afterwards, however, M. Botta was induced to transfer his operations to a mound on which was built the village of Khorsabad, about fourteen miles to the northeast, where his labors were rewarded by the first discovery of an Assyrian monument. He suc-

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\* Rich places Nimroud (the village, we presume) at eighteen and one fifth geographical miles from Mosul, by land. This corresponds very well with Mr. Layard's estimate of the distance between Kouyunjik and the mound of Nimroud. The map accompanying the second volume gives a greater distance, and is, probably, not quite correct.



ceeded in opening a chamber, constructed of slabs of gypsum sculptured over with representations of battles, sieges, and the like. Under the action of fire, however, these had been, ages before, reduced to lime; and most of them fell so soon to pieces, on exposure to the air, that M. Botta had hardly time to take rude drawings of them. With an honorable generosity, he communicated his discoveries to Mr. Layard, then at Constantinople. The works were continued under the auspices of the French government, until, in 1845, the monument had been completely uncovered, and a valuable addition was made to the stock of Assyrian antiquities in Europe, the principal collection of which had tenanted, in common with what was left of Babylon, a case in the British Museum scarcely three feet square.

Meanwhile, Mr. Layard had not lost sight of Nimroud. At Mosul he had called M. Botta's attention to these remains; and he subsequently endeavoured to interest various persons in Europe in the subject, but for some time with no great success. At length, in the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning, the British Minister at Constantinople, to whom the British Museum was already indebted for some of its most interesting relics, generously offered, for a limited period, to bear the expense of excavations in Assyria. Mr. Layard eagerly seized this happy opportunity; and, having provided himself with recommendatory documents, was again in Mosul at the end of October.

Here, then, the narrative of his labors begins; and it would be difficult to name another book of travels which unites in so great a degree the charm of personal adventure with the interest of historical research, — a rare union, which has made the fortune of the book. Considered in either aspect, these volumes abound in materials for an article far exceeding our moderate limits. Our attention is divided between modern Assyria, on the one hand, — whose condition, so well described in these lively sketches, perpetually tempts the reader to moralize on the social and political features of Mohammedanism, — and, on the other, the hoary remains of the elder world, which have been so suddenly roused from their sleep of tens of centuries. We must confine ourselves to the most superficial notice of the work, in either point of view, hoping that our cursory review may induce our readers to resort to Mr. Layard himself, who is now presented to them by that generous publisher, Mr. Putnam, in a very respectable American dress.

Mr. Layard lost no time in paying his respects to Mohammed Pasha, the governor of the province in which Mosul is situated. This man, a native of Candia, was a most disgusting specimen of the class of brutes who are so often let loose upon the distant inhabitants of the border provinces of a decrepit empire ; — a one-eyed, one-eared, pock-marked, short, fat, harsh-voiced, perfidious, rapacious, and cruel monster. Backed by this inventory of graces, he had succeeded in inspiring his oppressed subjects with distrust, and reducing his pashalic to a state of disgraceful disorder. Being introduced to this dignitary by Mr. Rassam, the British Vice-Consul, himself a Chaldæan Christian and a native of Mosul, our traveller was received with Turkish civility. But, having no time to lose at Mosul, he set out, on the 8th of November, for the spot to which his thoughts had so long been directed, taking with him an ample supply of hunting weapons, to mislead the jealous Mussulmans, who, he knew, would place every obstacle in his path if they conjectured his real design. After a restless night of dreamy excitement, he proceeded, early in the morning, with six Arab workmen, to the principal mound, and satisfied himself, by his first day's work, of the existence of a building, or buildings, of considerable extent. The next day, having obtained a reinforcement of five Turcomans, he pushed his excavations still further, and brought to light other portions of the building discovered the day before. Still no sculptures had appeared. The work was, however, diligently prosecuted ; and on the 28th of November, several bass-reliefs, representing a battle, a siege, and other subjects, were uncovered ; but by no means in a perfect state, for they had been much injured by fire. Encouraged by these results, Mr. Layard carried his trenches forward, and soon discovered other valuable relics ; among them, a pair of gigantic winged bulls, and of small winged lions. Enough had been done to prove the vast importance of these investigations ; and Mr. Layard immediately acquainted Sir Stratford Canning with the progress he had made, and desired a firman, or order from the Porte, which would secure him from all interruption.

Nor was such a safeguard wholly unnecessary, for he had already been repeatedly interfered with. Indeed, the wise men of Mosul, jealous of his proceedings, — Cadi, Mufti, and all, — beset the solitary ear of their Pasha, and left no

stone unturned to thwart the enterprise. One day it was reported that the Frank was digging for buried treasure ; and the next, that he had violated the tombs of the faithful. He was more than once obliged, while the excavations were going on, to gallop across the desert to the city to answer these paltry tales. He had two amusing audiences of the amiable Cretan. His Excellency made much of the point of sacrilege, and benevolently added, "I cannot allow you to proceed ; you are my dearest and most intimate friend ; if anything happens to you, what grief should I not suffer ! your life is more valuable than old stones : besides, the responsibility would fall on my own head." How sincere were his scruples appears from the fact, that he had ordered one of his officers to make graves on the mound, in which operation the man declared that he had destroyed more real tombs of true believers, than the infidel could have polluted between the Zab and Selamiyah. The utmost favor Mr. Layard could obtain was a permission to keep a few men to guard the sculptures, which afforded a decent pretext for continuing his investigations a while longer, though on a reduced scale.

But these were not his only troubles. The province was in a most unsettled state, and bands of marauding Arabs were ranging over the desert, ready to dart upon any undefended point. We shall see by and by how skilfully Mr. Layard afterwards dealt with these dangerous neighbours. At present his best ally was one Daoud Agha, by profession a captain of the Pasha's Hytas, or irregular cavalry, and by perquisite a licensed freebooter. It was clearly in the line of his duty to keep the Ishmaelites at their proper distance,—an ethical aspect of the case doubtless somewhat illuminated by the glitter of Mr. Layard's judicious presents. At all events, whether from fidelity, gratitude, or interest, he proved a very serviceable auxiliary.

Matters now began to brighten. The people of Mosul were driven half frantic with joy by the news of the disgrace of their governor, and the temporary appointment in his stead of a young officer, Ismail Pasha, who stood in high repute for justice and moderation. Two days after, the fallen governor was found by a visitor in a leaky room. "Thus it is," said he, with the characteristic philosophy of a true Mussulman, "with God's creatures. Yesterday, all those dogs were kissing my feet ; to-day, every one and

every thing falls upon me, — even the rain !” When Mr. Layard returned, early in January, from a short visit to Baghdad, he found the new governor installed in his office, and was received with courtesy ; and the troops in the neighbourhood of Nimroud were directed to assist and protect him.

The operations at the mound of Nimroud, which for some weeks had been suspended, were resumed in the middle of January, Mr. Layard having in the mean time engaged a party of Nestorian Christians to assist him. Hitherto he had resided at Selamiyah, a village a few miles distant ; but the arrival of the new governor having restored tranquillity to the province, he ventured to establish himself at the village of Nimroud. In these arrangements he was greatly aided by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the brother of the British Vice-Consul, who took charge of the quartermaster and paymaster’s department, and soon acquired an influence over the motley group of workmen which was of incalculable benefit to Mr. Layard. The counterfeit graves were now removed, with a few others of less questionable genuineness ; but the scruples of the Arabs were quieted by the argument, that, as the bodies were not turned towards the holy city, they could not be those of the faithful. The work had hardly been resumed, when the Ulema of Mosul made a new demonstration against it ; and Mr. Layard was obliged to yield to a particular request of the Pasha, that he would suspend the excavations for the present. In the interval he made a conciliatory call on Abd-ur-rahman, the Sheikh of the Abou Salman Arabs, who were encamped in the neighbourhood. He has described the interview in his lively manner. We quote a specimen of the rude logic of the chief.

“ ‘ When that blind dog, the son of the Cretan, may curses fall upon him ! came to Mosul, I waited upon him, as it is usual for the Sheikh ; what did *he* do ? Did he give me the cloak of honor ? No ; he put me, an Arab of the tribe of Zobeide, a tribe which had fought with the Prophet, into the public stocks. For forty days my heart melted away in a damp cell, and I was exposed to every variety of torture. Look at these hairs,’ continued he, lifting up his turban ; ‘ they turned white in that time, and I must now shave my beard, a shame amongst the Arabs. I was released at last ; but how did I return to the tribe ? — a beggar, unable to kill a sheep for my guests. He took my

mares, my flocks, and my camels, as the price of my liberty. Now tell me, O Bey, in the name of God, if the Osmanlis have eaten from me and my guests, shall I not eat from them and theirs ?” — Vol. I. p. 67.

In the middle of February, the operations were recommenced, and new discoveries soon made. Sculptured slabs continued to be found, but evidently out of their original position, and injured by fire or exposure to the air. Anxious to obtain more perfect specimens, Mr. Layard transferred his labors to another part of the mound, and at length struck on some bass-reliefs of great interest, and quite uninjured. They belonged to a building from which the slabs previously discovered had been taken. He had now brought to light the earliest palace of Nimroud.

The next morning, as he was returning from a second visit to the Sheikh, he was met by two Arabs. “Hasten, O Bey,” cried one of them, “hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! We have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God”; — and with this they galloped off. The workmen had in fact uncovered an enormous human head, sculptured in full in alabaster, and in admirable preservation. It proved to be part of a winged human-headed lion, the mate of which was soon afterwards dug out. The news of the discovery of the gigantic head spread far and near. The two Arabs had borne the fame of it to their Sheikh, who came with half his tribe to see it, and with rare sagacity at once pronounced it to be one of the idols which Noah had cursed before the flood, and the work of infidel giants, taller than the tallest date-tree. One of the workmen, at the first sight of the apparition, had run off in a fright to Mosul, as fast as his legs could carry him, and told every one he met that Nimrod had appeared. This extraordinary discovery Mr. Layard celebrated by a rude feast and dance. But the Cadi and Mufti were again in the field, and he was compelled to dismiss all but two of his workmen. By the aid of these, however, he ascertained the existence of a second pair of winged lions, on which he moralizes, quoting the words of the old Hebrew prophets, Ezekiel xxii. 3, and Zephaniah ii. 13, 14.

By this time Mr. Layard's fame had spread far and wide, and he was visited by the Sheikhs of the three branches of the Jebour Arabs. With his usual prudence, he purchased

their good-will by a timely distribution of presents, and offered them the hospitalities of the three huts of which his settlement was composed ; though somewhat incommoded by their rather literal interpretation of the complimentary phrase, "My house is your house." One day he found at his quarters a Kurdish chief, who rejoiced in the complex title of Mullah Ali Effendi Bey. The renown of the Frank had reached the Effendi even in his native mountains, and he had availed himself of a summer sojourn in the plains, to pay his respects to the stranger, and drive a trade with him, — the barter to consist in an offer of protection on the one hand, and the payment of a liberal fee on the other. The negotiation, as related by Mr. Layard, was of the most amusing character. But the Kurd took nothing by his motion, as he was not enough of a neighbour to be feared, and Mr. Layard did not choose to buy troublesome visits.

While Mr. Layard was waiting for the arrival of his firman, he paid a visit, in company with a party from Mosul, to Sofuk, the King of the Desert, as he was called, who was then encamped at no great distance from Nimroud. He was the Sheikh of the great Mesopotamian tribe of Shammar, or Men without Bondage, and, by his great popularity among the Arabs, had rendered himself a formidable neighbour to the Turks. Although his influence was now on the decline, he was still a powerful chief, and Mr. Layard deemed it not amiss to secure his good-will. He also took this occasion to ride over to the ruins of Al Hather. The chapter in which these excursions are described gives an admirable picture of Arab life. We have room for only one extract.

"Sheikh Khalaf received us with hospitality ; sheep were immediately slaughtered, and we dismounted at his tent. Even his wives, amongst whom was a remarkably pretty Arab girl, came to us to gratify their curiosity by a minute examination of the Frank lady. As the intimacy, which began to spring up, was somewhat inconvenient, we directed our tents to be pitched at a distance from the encampment, by the side of a small stream. It was one of those calm and pleasant evenings, which in spring make a paradise of the desert. The breeze, bland and perfumed by the odor of flowers, came calmly over the plain. As the sun went down, countless camels and sheep wandered to the tents, and the melancholy call of the herdsmen rose above the bleating of the flocks. The Arabs led their

prancing mares to the water ; the colts, as they followed, played and rolled on the grass. I spread my carpet at a distance from the group, to enjoy uninterrupted the varied scene. Rassam, now in his element, collected around him a knot of wondering Arabs, unscrewed telescopes, exhibited various ingenious contrivances, and described the wonders of Europe, interrupted by the exclamations of incredulous surprise, which his marvellous stories elicited from the hearers. Ali Effendi and his Mussulman friends, who preferred other pleasures and more definite excitement, hid themselves in the high rushes, and handed round a small silver bowl containing fragrant ruby-colored spirits, which might have rejoiced even the heart of Hafiz. The camel-drivers and servants hurried over the lawn, tending their animals or preparing for the evening meal.

"We had now reached the pasture-grounds of the Shammar, and Sheikh Khalaf declared that Sofuk's tents could not be far distant. A few days before they had been pitched almost amongst the ruins of Al Hather ; but he had since left them, and it was not known where he had encamped. We started early in the morning, and took the direction pointed out by Khalaf. Our view was bounded to the east by a rising ground. When we reached its summit, we looked down upon a plain, which appeared to swarm with moving objects. We had come upon the main body of the Shammar. It would be difficult to describe the appearance of a large tribe, like that we now met, when migrating to new pastures. The scene caused in me feelings of melancholy, for it recalled many hours, perhaps unprofitably, though certainly happily spent ; and many friends, some who now sighed in captivity for the joyous freedom which those wandering hordes enjoyed ; others who had perished in its defence. We soon found ourselves in the midst of wide-spreading flocks of sheep and camels. As far as the eye could reach, to the right, to the left, and in front, still the same moving crowd. Long lines of asses and bullocks laden with black tents, huge caldrons, and variegated carpets ; aged women and men, no longer able to walk, tied on the heap of domestic furniture ; infants crammed into saddle-bags, their tiny heads thrust through the narrow opening, balanced on the animal's back by kids or lambs tied on the opposite side ; young girls clothed only in the close-fitting Arab shirt, which displayed rather than concealed their graceful forms ; mothers with their children on their shoulders ; boys driving flocks of lambs ; horsemen armed with their long tufted spears, scouring the plain on their fleet mares ; riders urging their dromedaries with their short hooked sticks, and leading their high-bred steeds by the halter ; colts galloping amongst the throng ; high-born ladies seated in the centre of

huge wings, which extend like those of a butterfly from each side of the camel's hump, and are no less gaudy and variegated. Such was the motley crowd though which we had to wend our way for several hours. Our appearance created a lively sensation ; the women checked our horses ; the horsemen assembled round us, and rode by our side ; the children yelled and ran after the Franks." — Vol. I. pp. 89 – 91.

Immediately after this jaunt, Mr. Layard gave a rout at Nimroud, which continued for three days. He was honored with the presence of several Christian families from Mosul, who were joined by the French Consul and his wife, and Mr. and Mrs. Rassam. Never losing sight of the importance of keeping on the right side of the tribes of the desert, he issued a general invitation to all the Arabs of the district. Abd-ur-rahman came in state, and brought his wife and daughter. Kurdish musicians and jesters were hired to entertain the people, who came in considerable force. Fourteen sheep having been devoured to the last fragment, the wild Arab dance, called the debkè, followed. When the performers had exhausted themselves by their frantic vehemence, they gave place to the sword-dancers. At each hit, the tribesmen of the skilful combatant set up the war-cry, and the women raised the "tablehl," a sort of Oriental "Narraganset," which almost drives their husbands mad. The next day Abd-ur-rahman received the party at his tents, and the dances were renewed with greater vehemence than ever. The host was in raptures with the beauty of the French lady, and whispered to Mr. Layard, — "Wallah, she is the sister of the sun ! what would you have more beautiful than that ? Had I a thousand purses, I would give them all for such a wife. See ! — her eyes are like the eyes of my mare, her hair is as bitumen, and her complexion resembles the finest Busrah dates. Any one would die for a Houri like that." These festivities made the desired impression on the Arabs. They never forgot the three glorious days.

Ismail, who held the pashalic merely *ad interim*, was now succeeded by Tahyar Pasha, a venerable specimen of a nearly bygone race, the Turkish gentleman of the old school. He at once allowed Mr. Layard to proceed with his excavations. These were conducted on a narrower scale than was to be wished, on account of the slender means at his disposal. As the summer heats came on, he struck his tents, and retreated to a recess in the banks of the river,



where his company was eagerly sought by scorpions, gnats, and sand-flies, and other blessings of a hot climate. Various specimens of sculpture were now dug out, and under one of the slabs were found sixteen copper lions, varying in length from a foot to little more than an inch. Several of the sculptures have been deposited in the British Museum. The most remarkable of them, according to Mr. Layard, is a lion-hunt, "which, from the knowledge of art displayed in the treatment and composition, the correct and effective delineation of men and animals, the spirit of the grouping, and its extraordinary preservation, is probably the finest specimen of Assyrian art in existence." As the work proceeded, several ornaments painted on plaster were discovered, which faded, however, on exposure to the air.

At last came the firman from the Grand Vizir, and Mr. Layard was now invested with full powers. But by way of episode to his main undertaking, he carried on, during a month, researches in the mound of Kouyunjik, but without much success. He then returned to Nimroud with a gang of thirty men, chiefly Arabs. In a newly opened chamber, he discovered the figures of a king and several eunuchs.

"The Arabs marvelled at these strange figures. As each head was uncovered, they showed their amazement by extravagant gestures, or exclamations of surprise. If it was a bearded man, they concluded at once that it was an idol or a Jin, and cursed or spat upon it. If an eunuch, they declared that it was the likeness of a beautiful female, and kissed or patted the cheek. They soon felt as much interest as I did in the objects discovered, and worked with renewed ardor when their curiosity was excited by the appearance of a fresh sculpture. On such occasions they would strip themselves almost naked, throw the handkerchief from their heads, and, letting their matted hair stream in the wind, rush like madmen into the trenches, and carry off the baskets of earth, shouting, at the same time, the war-cry of the tribe." — Vol. i. p. 126.

The heat had now become intolerable, and Mr. Layard, whose health began to suffer, retreated to the cellars of Mosul, — following the example of the inhabitants, who spend their summer days in these underground apartments, and the nights on the house-tops. He profited by his vicinity to Kouyunjik to renew his researches there, but only for a short time and on a small scale. His strength being somewhat restored, he returned to Nimroud in the middle of

August, and resumed his labors ; but being soon forced by the state of his health to suspend them again, he determined to visit the Tiyari district, the home of the Nestorians of the mountains, where he would find a cooler climate.

This region lies on the upper waters of the Greater Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, which, after making a huge bend to the southeast, resumes its westerly course, and at length joins the Tigris a little below Nimroud. Mr. Layard's route was therefore to the northeast, into the heart of Assyria Proper. Two most interesting chapters are devoted to this excursion. As, however, they are only incidental to the proper subject of the book, and relate to a country and people of whom much has been written, we content ourselves with a hurried sketch. Mr. Layard took with him, besides the ordinary attendants, his invaluable coadjutor, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the Cawass Ibrahim Agha, whose fidelity he had fully proved, and a half-witted Nestorian, by way of clown, to entertain the company and amuse the natives. He had official orders from the Pasha to the Turkish authorities, and a letter to a powerful Kurdish chief, besides one from the Nestorian Patriarch to the rulers and priests of that communion. Having tarried a few hours at Khorsabad, to examine the ruins in which M. Botta had made his excavations, he passed rapidly forward to the mountains. These districts have been inhabited for centuries by the Kurds, a semi-barbarous race, with whose ancestors, under the name of Carduchi, our college boys have fought in the pages of Xenophon. They dwell partly within the Turkish, and partly within the Persian empire. But even those who are nominally subject to the Grand Seignior have been ever ready to exercise the wild freedom of which border tribes are so tenacious, — a relic of barbarism which is among the last to yield to the encroachments of civilization. But though unruly subjects, they are capable of the fanaticism of the best of Mussulmans ; and are not less likely to obey its spur because persecution is another name for plunder. Unfortunately, they have had too tempting an opportunity to display their zeal ; for there exists, among these mountains and in the plains below, the remnant of an ancient Christian race, once widely spread through the East, but now shrunk to a few poor and feeble communities, divided among themselves by sectarian strife. American missionaries have labored and died among them, in the attempt to save the

primitive sect from the proselytizing efforts of Roman emissaries. Till quite recently, the Nestorians of the mountains were, to most intents, independent. How they were so long able to withstand the fanatical hatred of the Turks, on the one hand, and the fanatical hatred of the Kurds with a savor of predatory violence, on the other, it is not easy to imagine. Possibly the Christians had caught enough of the rude ways of their enemies to be able to hold them at bay ; so that it was not till five or six years ago that the Kurds, instigated, perhaps, by the Turkish authorities, and led on by two cruel chieftains, Beder Khan Bey and Nur-Ullah Bey, waged a bloody war on the Tiyari Christians, massacred in cold blood nearly ten thousand of the people, and carried into slavery a large number of the girls and children. In most of the mountain villages through which Mr. Layard passed, he encountered poverty, wretchedness, ruin, and death. The survivors had little to entertain him with but the tale of their wrongs and woes ; and while they told it, they lay at the mercy of the ruthless horde, who spared them now only because they had ceased to be a temptation. What little the villagers had, they cheerfully set before the traveller who had the good word of the beloved head of their church. Emerging from these scenes of desolation, Mr. Layard passed into the adjoining district of Tkhoma, where, for the first time since his entrance into the mountains, he saw flocks and herds, apparently the signs of comparative prosperity. But the poor inhabitants held them by a precarious tenure. Beder Khan Bey had declared his resolution to make clean work with them, and to leave no slaves for consuls and Turks to liberate ; and he was likely to keep his word, for he had *not* sworn it upon the Koran. The people of the devoted district, anticipating their doom, had begun to conceal their church-books and other valuables. In fact, soon after Mr. Layard's return to Mosul, the storm burst upon them. Beder Khan Bey invaded the district, and massacred nearly one half of the inhabitants. Some resistance was made, and it is amazing that a mountain race, hardy by necessity, always surrounded by foes, fully warned in this instance of their danger, and fighting for their wives, their children, their homes, and their faith, should not have proved a match for assailants who had so much less at stake. Mr. Layard, indeed, is of opinion that a concerted plan of defence would have saved them. But they wanted a leader.

In these chapters we meet with many spirited sketches of Eastern life and character. Turks, Kurds, Nestorians, and Albanians pass in turn before us, and afford an apt illustration of the piebald agglomeration of races which everywhere characterizes the Turkish empire, and which would long ago have proved fatal to it, were it not for the intense *vis inertiae* of every member. The parts have not energy enough in themselves to fly asunder. Drenched in a stagnant and stupefying creed, its only literature and philosophy, this unwieldy mass slumbers on as it has done for a century. The day of the crescent has gone by, and the poppy is the only fit emblem of the Ottoman power. Mr. Layard, with his unfailing readiness and tact, makes himself at home wherever he goes. The only accident which befell him in this journey was a kick from a horse, which he received when old habits, as he says, got the better of his dignity, and he joined his companions, who had engaged in the jerid with a party of Kurds.

Mr. Layard, soon after his return to Mosul, received an invitation from the head of the Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers, to attend their great periodical feast. Although in every country individuals may be found who worship this being after their own fashion, it is only in the East that the sect has been organized; and in truth they are much more respectable than one would suppose who should judge of them from the specimens to be met with nearer home. The worship of the Devil in the East seems to be, in part, of the propitiatory kind, which does not necessarily imply that peculiar affection for the object of it which is found in the West. The Yezidis have been accused, probably from their unfortunate choice of a patron, of impure mysteries and midnight orgies. Mr. Layard eagerly seized an opportunity, the first ever offered to a European, of witnessing the very ceremonies at which, if anywhere, these enormities would be practised, and of thus deciding on the truth of these charges. The feast was held at the tomb of their great saint, the Sheikh Adi. The stranger was received at Baadri with marked courtesy by Hussein Bey, the political chief of the sect, a handsome youth of eighteen.

The young chief escorted his guest to the scene of the festival, where they were met by Sheikh Nasr, the religious head of the sect,—a man of about forty years of age, of mild and pleasing manners, who welcomed Mr. Layard with unaffected cordiality. In fact, his visit seems to have been

regarded as a high compliment. Groups of pilgrims now began to gather ; and although the sect had suffered severely of late from the hostility of the Turks, who persecute the Yezidis because they are not, like the Christians and Jews, "masters of a book," yet, before the end of the feast, as many as seven thousand persons had assembled. The Yezidis never utter the name of the Devil, except by a circumlocution ; whether or not from the apprehension so current in the West, that he may be near when he is spoken of, is a question for ethnologists. So far do they carry this caution, that they substitute a synonyme for any unfortunate word which, by a similarity of sound, may suggest the unmentionable name. Mr. Layard had nearly committed a dreadful mistake.

"During the afternoon, dances were performed before the Bey and myself. They resembled the Arab Debkè and the Kurdish Tchopee. As many young men as could crowd into the small open space in front of the fountain joined in them. Others sang in chorus with the music. Every place, from which a sight could be obtained of the dancers, was occupied by curious spectators. Even the branches above our heads were bending under the clusters of boys, who had discovered, that, from them, they could get a full view of what was going on below. The manœuvres of one of these urchins gave rise to a somewhat amusing incident, which illustrates the singular superstitions of this sect. He had forced himself to the very end of a weak bough, which was immediately above me, and threatened every moment to break under the weight. As I looked up, I saw the impending danger, and made an effort, by an appeal to the chief, to avert it. 'If that young Sheit——,' I exclaimed, about to use an epithet generally given in the East to such adventurous youths ;\* I checked myself immediately ; but it was too late ; half the dreaded word had escaped. The effect was instantaneous ; a look of horror seized those who were near enough to overhear me ; it was quickly communicated to those beyond. The pleasant smile, which usually played upon the fine features of the young Bey, gave way to a serious and angry expression. I lamented that I had thus unwittingly wounded the feelings of my hosts, and was at a loss to know how I could make atonement for my indiscretion, — doubting whether an apology to the evil principle or to the chief was expected. I endeavoured, however, to make them understand, without venturing upon any observa-

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\* "The term Sheitan (equivalent to Satan) is usually applied in the East to a clever, cunning, or daring fellow."

tions which might have brought me into greater difficulties, that I regretted what had passed ; but it was some time ere the group resumed their composure, and indulged in their previous merriment.” — Vol. i. pp. 237, 238.

We would gladly quote the entire description of the scene, both for its own interest, and as an excellent specimen of narrative skill. We must content ourselves with the following passage : —

“ As night advanced, those who had assembled — they must now have amounted to nearly five thousand persons — lighted torches, which they carried with them as they wandered through the forest. The effect was magical ; the varied groups could be faintly distinguished through the darkness ; men hurrying to and fro ; women, with their children, seated on the house-tops ; and crowds gathering round the peddlers who exposed their wares for sale in the court-yard. Thousands of lights were reflected in the fountains and streams, glimmered amongst the foliage of the trees, and danced in the distance. As I was gazing on this extraordinary scene, the hum of human voices was suddenly hushed, and a strain, solemn and melancholy, arose from the valley. It resembled some majestic chant which years before I had listened to in the cathedral of a distant land. Music so pathetic and so sweet I had never before heard in the East. The voices of men and women were blended in harmony with the soft notes of many flutes. At measured intervals the song was broken by the loud clash of cymbals and tambourines ; and those who were without the precincts of the tomb then joined in the melody.

“ I hastened to the sanctuary, and found Sheikh Nasr, surrounded by the priests, seated in the inner court. The place was lighted up by torches and lamps, which threw a soft light over the white walls of the tomb and green foliage of the arbour. The Sheikhs, in their white turbans and robes, all venerable men with long gray beards, were ranged on one side ; on the opposite, seated on the stones, were about thirty Cawals in their motley dresses of black and white, — each performing on a tambourine or a flute. Around stood the Fakirs in their dark garments ; and the women of the orders of the priesthood also arrayed in pure white. No others were admitted within the walls of the court.

“ The same slow and solemn strain, occasionally varied in the melody, lasted for nearly an hour ; a part of it was called ‘ Ma-kam Azerat Esau,’ or the song of the Angel Jesus. It was sung by the Sheikhs, the Cawals, and the women ; and occasionally by those without. I could not catch the words ; nor could I prevail upon any of those present to repeat them to me. They were

in Arabic ; and, as few of the Yezidis can speak or pronounce that language, they were not intelligible, even to the experienced ear of Hodja Toma, who accompanied me. The tambourines, which were struck simultaneously, only interrupted at intervals the song of the priests. As the time quickened, they broke in more frequently. The chant gradually gave way to a lively melody, which, increasing in measure, was finally lost in a confusion of sounds. The tambourines were beaten with extraordinary energy ; the flutes poured forth a rapid flood of notes ; the voices were raised to their highest pitch ; the men outside joined in the cry ; whilst the women made the rocks resound with the shrill *tahlehl*. The musicians, giving way to the excitement, threw their instruments into the air, and strained their limbs into every contortion, until they fell exhausted to the ground. I never heard a more frightful yell than that which rose in the valley. It was midnight. The time and place were well suited to the occasion ; and I gazed with wonder upon the extraordinary scene around me. Thus were probably celebrated ages ago the mysterious rites of the Corybantes, when they met in some consecrated grove. I did not marvel that such wild ceremonies had given rise to those stories of unhallowed rites, and obscene mysteries, which have rendered the name of Yezidi an abomination in the East. Notwithstanding the uncontrollable excitement which appeared to prevail amongst all present, there were no indecent gestures, or unseemly ceremonies. When the musicians and singers were exhausted, the noise suddenly died away ; the various groups resumed their previous cheerfulness, and again wandered through the valley, or seated themselves under the trees." — Vol. i. pp. 241 – 243.

Mr. Layard has given a summary of the religious usages and doctrines of this sect. They recognize a Supreme Being, but do not appear to worship him. Satan they regard as the chief of the angelic host, now fallen, but hereafter to be restored. This accounts for their worship ; for he will one day be powerful for good, as he is now for evil. Their symbol of the Devil is a bronze or copper bird, (and the metal is not ill-chosen,) but it is not adored as an idol. When they speak of the Prince of Darkness, they call him King Peacock, or the Mighty Angel. Christ they regard as a great angel, who took the form of a man ; and they expect his second coming. They revere the Old Testament, and do not reject the New Testament or the Koran. Mohammed they look upon as a prophet. They baptize in water ; and they practise circumcision. But their worship

seems to be most nearly allied to Sabæanism. They adore the sun, and revere fire as a sacred symbol. They look to the east when they perform their solemn rites, and turn the faces of the dead in that direction. Their cleanliness is extreme ; they are passionately fond of white linen, and are given to frequent ablutions. They eat no pork, but do not abstain from wine. Polygamy they account no sin. They have a particular objection to the name of George ; whether because it suggests hostility to the dragon, we do not undertake to say. Their orders of priesthood are four, all hereditary, and open to women as well as men. These are, the Pirs or Saints, the Sheikhs, the Cawals or Preachers, and the Fakirs. The Yezidis are well disposed towards Christians, whom they regard as fellow-sufferers from the fanaticism of the Mussulmans. They seem to have made a favorable impression on Mr. Layard. In this respect he is not alone ; for both Rich and Ainsworth have spoken well of them ; and Dr. Grant evidently had hopes of them. Having witnessed all the ceremonies to which a stranger could be admitted, and received from the Sheikh a commendatory letter to the Yezidis of the Sinjar, on the western side of the river, Mr. Layard returned to Mosul.

It happened that His Excellency the Pasha undertook at this time a journey of inspection to the Sinjar ; and Mr. Layard, who wished to visit this district, placed himself under his protection. Matters, however, went wrong ; for the Yezidis had received so many hostile visits from Mosul, that they placed no confidence in the really kind intentions of the new governor, and fired upon his troops. A bloody conflict ensued. The Yezidis defended themselves for two or three days in a rocky fastness, and then slipped away at night. Our traveller was exposed on this occasion to some danger ; for on the third day the Pasha himself advanced into the gorge, and had his carpet spread on a rock. Here he sat, while the balls of the enemy were throwing dirt in his face, smoking his pipe, and talking small talk with Mr. Layard. Coffee was brought from time to time, and his pipe replenished as it became empty. They both escaped, however, without injury. This is certainly a good illustration of Prince Eugene's remark, that "opium and predestination make the Turks philosophers." Unfortunately, it is a philosophy which has two poles, — fanaticism and apathy, a frenzy and a lethargy ; the first conquered the Greek empire, and the last has con-



quered the Turkish empire. The way of reform is between these ; whether the Ottomans themselves will find it, or another race must take the sceptre from their hands and teach them, is a problem which is fast approaching its solution.

Mr. Layard found letters at Mosul, which informed him that a grant, though a scanty one, had been made to the British Museum, to carry on the researches in Assyria. He readily undertook the superintendence of them, although the amount of labor thrown upon him was immense; for he was obliged to lend a hand in every department of the work. He proceeded to organize a party of workmen. The wandering Arabs were now driven by an unusual scarcity of corn to engage in labors not altogether to their taste. He chose a number of these, taking one from each family, to remove the earth in baskets, as it was thrown out. These people brought their families with them, and made an encampment, which served as a protection from other Arabs. The digging was committed to fifty Nestorian Christians, whom he lodged in a hut upon the mound. These, with a Jacobite marble-cutter, a carpenter from Mosul, a standard-bearer of the irregular troops, the faithful Cawass Ibrahim Agha, and the factotum, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, completed his corps. He was now, indeed, the governor of a busy little village, and seems to have managed his motley people with extraordinary skill. The Arabs were divided into three gangs ; care being taken to sprinkle among them a few of a hostile tribe, who, without special commission, would be ready enough to bring intelligence of anything wrong. The excavations were recommenced on the first of November, 1846. Slabs, sculptured with bass-reliefs of great interest, continued to be found ; and even two vases, one of alabaster, and another of glass, were discovered. But a more important discovery was at hand. It was that of an obelisk of black marble, seven feet high, containing twenty small bass-reliefs, and an inscription of two hundred and ten lines. This was in excellent preservation, and was got out without damage. He next found a pair of Sphinxes ; and, shortly after, an earthen sarcophagus, containing a skeleton. In one of the chambers a number of ivory ornaments were brought to light, but in such a condition that specimens of them were preserved with the greatest difficulty. Mr. Layard himself spent hours, lying on the ground, separating them with a penknife from the rubbish by which they

were surrounded. The next important discovery was that of painted ornaments of divers colors. Then the workmen uncovered several tombs, containing clay vases and other ornaments, and sometimes skeletons. These last generally crumbled on being exposed to the air ; but two skulls were preserved. Many of the vessels were Egyptian in their form. In one of the bass-reliefs, a bucket was suspended by a rope which passed through a *pulley*. In the course of the excavations an unquestionable arched vault was found. The subjects of the sculptures were often military, though many related to the chase, and others had evidently a religious significance. Several of the gigantic figures are supposed to represent the deities of the Assyrians ; and in one case a number of warriors are seen, bearing a procession of gods. The slabs abound in inscriptions, some of which have already been turned to good account. The extent of Mr. Layard's researches, as well as the variety of the results arrived at, may be conjectured from the fact, that a list of eighty-five bass-reliefs and sculptures, which were packed off for England, is given in an Appendix to the first volume. He made the most of the funds placed at his disposal ; but was obliged to leave a large part of the mound unexplored.\*

Mr. Layard has given us a very curious picture of his last establishment at the mound of Nimroud. His administrative duties were by no means trifling. His interference was often required to settle the disputes of the Arabs among themselves ; an operation greatly furthered by the exertions of his constables, the Cawass and the standard-bearer, and the application of handcuffs, with which he had providently supplied himself. The matrimonial cases were of daily occurrence, and of difficult treatment, especially with rude husbands, who could rid themselves of their better halves by the mere utterance three times of a formula of divorce. In every case of this sort but one, the parties submitted to his decision. The Arab women boldly appealed to him for

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\* We have thrown together in this miscellaneous way results quite various in their character, and obtained under various circumstances. The tombs, for instance, being found above some of the buildings, cannot belong to the earliest Assyrian period ; if, indeed, they are to be referred to the Assyrians at all. The ivories and vases, too, point to a different epoch from the gigantic winged figures of the Assyrian gods. Some of the sculptures, indeed, differ so much from others, as to indicate, in Mr. Layard's opinion, a positive decline of art in Assyria. The palaces, as we have already hinted, cannot all have been built in the same period.

protection against the cruelty of their husbands, and not only received it, but were relieved by him of a part of the heavy work, which their lazy lords were too ready to throw upon them. Their gratitude was expressed in the strongest terms, though not without a dash of apprehension for the future. "What shall we do when you leave us, which God forbid you ever should do? Our husbands will then have their turn, and there will be nobody to help us." He kept the workmen in good humor by his kind regard to their comfort. If a peddler arrived with a donkey-load of raisins or dates, he was bought out and his cargo distributed among the laborers. Now and then a feast was made for the men, and a separate one for the women, and any Kurdish musicians, who happened to be strolling near, were enlisted for a dance, which lasted nearly till morning. It was not always easy to keep the peace between the Mussulmans and Christians. The former were too ready to lavish the usual Mohammédan epithets on the latter, and severe measures were necessary to prevent serious quarrels. We quote a few lines, which bring a striking scene before us.

"The Nestorians kept their holidays, and festivals, with as much rigor as they kept the Sunday. On these days they assembled on the mound or in the trenches; and one of the priests or deacons (for there were several amongst the workmen) repeated prayers, or led a hymn or chant. I often watched these poor creatures, as they reverentially knelt, — their heads uncovered, — under the great bulls, celebrating the praises of Him whose temples the worshippers of those frowning idols had destroyed, — whose power they had mocked. It was the triumph of truth over Paganism. Never had that triumph been more forcibly illustrated than by those, who now bowed down in the crumbling halls of the Assyrian kings." — Vol. i. p. 294.

The most amusing incident which occurred at this time was the recovery, in a very summary way, of some mats and felts, that had been stolen from a raft which Mr. Layard had sent down from Mosul. The offender proved to be the Sheikh of an Arab tribe. Mr. Layard, taking with him his two constables, and a third man specially sworn, with the infallible handcuffs, rode off one morning for the encampment of the thief. He stoutly denied the theft, though Mr. Layard had at once discovered some signs of his property. The dialogue was promptly closed by handcuffing the Sheikh, and dragging him from his tent.

"Now, my sons," said Mr. Layard, "I have found a part of that which I wanted; you must search for the rest." The Sheikh was jolted off, and entertained on the way to Nimroud with allusions to the governor's lock-up house at Mosul, and hints of the pillory and stocks. He made a full confession, and sent an Arab for the property; next morning, it appeared. This affair, reported as it was with horrible additions, put an end to all trouble from the tribes.

Mr. Layard was unwilling to leave Assyria till he had made some excavations in the mounds of Kalah Shergat, some thirty or forty miles lower down the river, and on the other bank. These ruins he had visited with Mr. Ainsworth some years before. He put his workmen under the protection of a friendly tribe of Arabs. But the removal of these uncertain auxiliaries rendered the situation of his men so insecure, that he was obliged to withdraw them, after a very imperfect exploration. The chief discovery was that of a sitting statue of black basalt, which is of great interest, notwithstanding the loss of its head and hands, as being the only specimen yet found of an Assyrian figure which had been wrought in entire sculpture.

Nothing now remained but to remove the sculptures which were to be sent to England, and to bury those which must be left behind. But this was by no means an easy task. Mr. Layard was far to the eastward of the meridian of practical mechanics. A derrick was not to be dreamed of; and but for two or three relics of the Euphrates expedition, in the form of jack-screws and blocks, the case would have been a critical one. The mats and felts came into play; and a hawser of palm fibres was brought from Baghdad. A carpenter was sent to the mountains to fell a mulberry-tree, and a stout cart was constructed and set upon two iron axles left by M. Botta. This cart became the town-talk of Mosul; and when it left the place, all business was suspended, and the population turned out to see it cross the bridge. No time was to be lost; for the drought was terrible, and the plundering propensities of the desert tribes increased in the exact ratio of the danger of starvation, — a danger which the wisdom of the rulers of the land had taken pains to aggravate by a tax on the rude watering-machines of the Arabs. Even an Arab will rather work than starve; and Mr. Layard was able to bring into the field a corps of four companies, and a number of Nestorians. Out of the thir-

teen pairs of gigantic sculptures which had been discovered, a winged bull and lion were selected for removal, and the slabs were sawed away at the back to lessen their weight. The bull was first attempted. Mr. Layard took his station on the mound, and Abd-ur-rahman stood by as an invited spectator. The bull began to move, the Kurds struck up their pipes, the Arabs their war-cry, and the women the *tahlehl*. The rope strained and broke; but the bull came to the ground unhurt. The excitement was now uncontrollable. Abd-ur-rahman threw off his cloak and led off the *debkè*. When they had danced themselves weary, the work was resumed and great progress made. At sunset the workmen were dismissed, and marched off with a band of music to the village. The night was a sleepless one; feasting and dancing being kept up till dawn. In the morning, singing and capering still, they started for the mound. The bull was lowered into the cart, and buffaloes were harnessed in. But the beasts would not draw, and the workmen, Christians, Arabs, and all, took their place. A procession was formed, Mr. Layard with the standard-bearer being at the head. Then came the pipers, playing with might and main; then the cart, dragged by three hundred men, screeching at the top of their voices; and lastly, the women, *tahlehl*-ing still. Escort duty was performed by Abd-ur-rahman's cavalry. For a while the pageant advanced bravely, till one of the cart-wheels stuck in a hole, which defied the tugs and yells of the Arabs. The bull was forced to bivouac for that night in the desert. But the next day he was fairly landed on the banks of the river; and the enterprise was closed with another uproarious night. The lion now took his turn, and was transported to the river's edge with the same mad merriment as his predecessor. It was now necessary to find a raftman, who would take the precious load down the river to Busrah. Several sculptures had already been sent to Baghdad on rafts, buoyed up with inflated skins. Further than Baghdad an Eastern raftman never ventured to go; for the reason, unanswerable in Oriental logic, that neither he nor his fathers had ever done so, though the current was less obstructed below than above Baghdad. Nobody at Mosul would undertake a voyage of such Argonautic peril, either for love or money. An insolvent debtor of Baghdad was induced by the impending horrors of a prison to take the contract; and, having received a lesson or

two in his own art, moored his raft at the appointed place. Mr. Layard's Arab workmen seized this occasion to strike for higher wages ; but they little knew the man they had to deal with, for in a trice he despatched a messenger to our friend Abd-ur-rahman, who furnished him with men from his own tribe. The monsters slid down without murmur to the raft which was to transport them into perpetual exile from the land where they had been worshipped as gods, centuries before the native island of the intruder who had torn them from their temples was thought worthy to be the abode of civilized man.

Mr. Layard now proceeded to bury the sculptures which were left behind, and to dismantle his house at Nimroud. The Arabs struck their tents, and the mound was abandoned to its wonted desolation. Before leaving Assyria, he renewed his excavations at Kouyunjik, and discovered a palace, with several interesting bass-reliefs. These relate to important national events, and, from various circumstances, are supposed to celebrate the conquest of Tyre or Sidon. Before his departure, he gave a farewell feast to his workmen, which was characterized by the usual amount of boisterous excitement. On the 24th of June, he left Mosul, under an escort of irregular cavalry furnished by the Pasha. But Mr. Layard must take his own leave.

“ Mr. and Mrs. Rassam, all the European residents, and many of the principal Christian gentlemen of Mosul, rode out with me to some distance from the town. On the opposite side of the river, at the foot of the bridge, were the ladies who had assembled to bid me farewell. Beyond them were the wives and daughters of my workmen, who clung to my horse, many of them shedding tears as they kissed my hand. The greater part of the Arabs insisted upon walking as far as Tel Kef with me. In this village supper had been prepared for the party. Old Gouriel, the Kiayah, still rejoicing in his drunken leer, was there to receive us. We sat on the house-top till midnight. The horses were then loaded and saddled. I bid a last farewell to my Arabs, and started on the first stage of our long journey to Constantinople.” — Vol. II. p. 119.

We have thus endeavoured to present an abstract of this entertaining book of travels. But Mr. Layard is more than a mere traveller. He is not one of those who collect materials for others to appreciate and digest ; he is a man of study as well as action, and has devoted much time and thought to

the classification and exposition of the valuable fruits of his diligence and courage. The second part of his work, which treats of the history and antiquities of the Assyrians, is a monument of his scholarship and zeal. It opens a new and ample field for philological and Biblical research, and will serve as an excellent companion to his elaborate and costly portfolio of the "Monuments of the Assyrians," which has just appeared in London. We shall not attempt to review or analyze the treatise before us; that task belongs to abler hands. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the singular and almost romantic circumstances attending the resuscitation of one of the primeval cities of the East, after it had been despaired of for centuries. Our readers will do that for themselves. In order, however, not to pass entirely over what must seem to many the most curious portion of the work, we hazard a few remarks upon it.

It is evident that the time has not yet arrived for a just estimation of the value of these researches. In kind, they bear much resemblance to those which have been so successfully prosecuted in Egypt and Etruria; but in amount they necessarily fall short of them. In fact, the ground is but just broken. Our acquaintance with Assyrian history has heretofore been of the most meagre description. A chief and sure guide was the Bible; but there Assyria, of course, appears only incidentally, and in connection with Jewish history. The legends of Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus, with some scanty notices by Greek historians, filled up the narrow circle of our knowledge. That the discoveries of M. Botta and Mr. Layard have added materially to the number of historical events within our cognizance cannot, perhaps, in the present state of ignorance respecting the arrow-headed character, be asserted; and yet they have thrown great light on Assyrian history by illustrating and confirming the notices, Biblical and classical, which we already possessed, and, what is of more moment, by giving an air of reality to the whole subject, and opening a channel for further inquiry. They have enriched the annals of art with a new chapter; they have thrown open the palace-temples of the Assyrian kings, and disclosed many features of the political and religious life of those monarchs. They have multiplied the number of inscriptions, and thus given a promise of rich additions to the history of Assyria, when greater progress shall have been made in deciphering the

almost unknown character in which they are written. But we must not expect too much from these investigations. Even if scholars should one day become as familiar with Assyrian as they have become with Egyptian antiquities, it would be absurd to compare such an acquaintance with the fruitful and liberal intimacy which has been for ages cherished with the remains of Greece and Rome. A whole province of Herculanums, with inscriptions enough to keep an army of Gruters at work, would never atone for the want of poets, orators, and historians. Assyria, Egypt, and Etruria come equally under the doom that befalls every form of civilization which has not recorded itself in a living literature. Not only do its institutions perish, but its memory in great part perishes also. *Quia carent vate sacro*. To prove that Mr. Layard has brought to the philosophy of his subject the same enterprise and skill which marked his active labors, we need only quote his summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the genealogical and other evidence furnished by the palaces which he has disinterred.

“In conclusion, it may appear from the preceding remarks,—

“1st. That there are buildings in Assyria which so far differ in their sculptures, in their mythological and sacred symbols, and in the character and language of their inscriptions, as to lead to the inference that there were at least two distinct periods of Assyrian history. We may moreover conclude, that either the people inhabiting the country at those distinct periods were of different races, or of different branches of the same race; or that, by intermixture with foreigners, perhaps Egyptians, great changes had taken place in their language, religion, and customs, between the building of the first palace of Nimroud, and that of the edifices at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik.

“2d. That the names of the kings on the monuments show a lapse even of some centuries between the foundation of the most ancient and most recent of these edifices.

“3d. That from the symbols introduced into the sculptures of the second Assyrian period, and from the Egyptian character of the small objects found in the earth, above the ruins of the buildings of the *oldest* period, there was a close connection with Egypt, either by conquest or friendly intercourse, between the time of the erection of the earliest and latest palaces; and that the monuments of Egypt, the names of kings in certain Egyptian dynasties, the ivories from Nimroud, the introduction of several Assyrian divinities into the Egyptian Pantheon, and other evidence, point to the fourteenth century as the probable time of the



commencement, and the ninth as the period of the termination, of that intercourse.

"4th. That the earlier palaces of Nimroud were already in ruins, and buried before the foundation of the later; and that it is probable they may have been thus destroyed about the time of the fourteenth Egyptian dynasty.

"5th. That the existence of two distinct dynasties in Assyria, and the foundation, about two thousand years before Christ, of an Assyrian monarchy, may be inferred from the testimony of the most ancient authors; and is in accordance with the evidence of Scripture, and of Egyptian monuments." — Vol. II. pp. 184, 185.

Mr. Layard discusses the question of the site and size of ancient Nineveh. He inclines to the belief, that Nimroud was the original site; that edifices were afterwards raised at Khorsabad, Karamles, and Kouyunjik, and again at Nimroud. The four mounds which mark these sites form the corners of a quadrangle, whose periphery corresponds pretty well with the 480 stadia, or 60 miles, of Strabo, and allows sufficient space for "the exceeding great city of three days' journey," mentioned in the book of Jonah; taking twenty miles for a day's journey, which is the usual allowance in that region. He rejects the supposition that Larissa, or Nimroud, is identical with the Resen of the book of Genesis. The ruins, in his opinion, show that the city attained its greatest extent in the time of the kings of the second dynasty, who are the kings mentioned in Scripture.

The remains of Assyrian architecture are confined almost entirely to the interior of the palaces, scarcely a trace of the exterior being left. We quote Mr. Layard's description of one of these palaces.

"The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colors. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes repre-

sented. Above the sculptures were painted other events, — the king, attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were inclosed in colored borders, of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal figure of the king in adoration before the supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup. He was attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes, and those of his followers, were adorned with groups of figures, animals, and flowers, all painted with brilliant colors.

“The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were processions of colossal figures, — armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests, or presiding divinities, standing before the sacred trees.

“The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the wood-work. Square openings in the ceilings of the chambers admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an Eastern sky, inclosed in a frame on which were painted, in vivid colors, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.

“These edifices, as it has been shown, were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire. He who entered them might thus read the history, and learn the glory and triumphs, of the nation. They served, at the same time, to bring continually to the remembrance of those

who assembled within them on festive occasions, or for the celebration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods."\* — Vol. II. pp. 207 – 209.

Of the style of art displayed in the reliefs sculptured on the palace-walls, and of the numerous points of detail which they reveal or illustrate in Assyrian life and manners, though an interesting subject, we have no room to speak. We have already observed that more than one style is apparent. A primitive and bolder (though not inaccurate) type appears to have been superseded, in the later edifices, by a more smoothly finished, but less original, character of design. A religious meaning is clearly distinguishable in many of the figures and scenes. The uncouth combination of incongruous forms, as in the winged human-headed bull, and the figure of a human body with an eagle's head and wings, remind the reader of the barbaric period of the Greek mythology, when gorgons, griffins, and chimæras had not given place to a milder type of art.

One of the chief merits of Mr. Layard's inquiry is his judicious habit of frequent Scriptural quotation and illustration. His citations, however, are so interwoven with his text, that it is difficult to give specimens of them here. The following passage will show the spirit in which he comments upon the Scriptures. He has been speaking of the colors found on the walls.

"The passage in Ezekiel describing the interior of the Assyrian palaces so completely corresponds with, and illustrates, the monuments of Nimroud and Khorsabad, that it deserves particular notice in this place. The prophet, in typifying the corruptions which had crept into the religious systems of the Jews, and the idolatrous practices borrowed from nations with whom they had been brought into contact, thus illustrates the influence of the Assyrians. 'She saw men portrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermillion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity.' [Ch. xxiii. 14, 15.] Ezekiel, it will be remembered, prophesied on the banks of the

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\* We have omitted several learned notes in this extract, for want of space. We must add, that Mr. Layard thinks he has found among these remains the prototype of the Greek Ionic order.

Chebar, a river which, whether it can be identified with the Khabour of the Arabs (the Chaboras of the Greeks), flowing through the plains of Mesopotamia, and falling into the Euphrates near Karkemish (Circesium), or with another of the same name rising in the mountains of Kurdistan, and joining the Tigris above Mosul, was certainly in the immediate vicinity of Nineveh. In the passage quoted, the prophet is referring to a period previous to the final destruction of the Assyrian capital, an event which he most probably witnessed, as the date usually assigned to his prophecies is 593 before Christ, only thirteen years after the Medo-Babylonian conquest. There can scarcely be a doubt that he had seen the objects which he describes, — the figures sculptured upon the wall, and painted. The prevalence of a red color, shown by the Khorsaban remains, and the elaborate and highly ornamented head-dress of the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik kings, are evidently indicated. The evidence thus afforded of the existence of these monuments before the fall of Nineveh, taken in connection with the prophet's subsequent description of the complete overthrow and destruction of the city, [Ch. xxxi.] is a convincing proof, were any required, that the edifices described in the previous pages must be referred to a period preceding the Persian invasion." — Vol. II. pp. 239–241.

We add the following, taken almost at random : —

"In a bass-relief, captives are led before the king by a rope fastened to rings passed through the lip and nose. This sculpture illustrates the passage in 2 Kings xix. 28: 'I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips.'" — Vol. II. p. 288.

"The heads of the slain were generally collected and brought either to the king or to an officer, who took account of their number. When Ahab's seventy sons were killed, their heads were cut off, and brought in baskets to Jezreel. They were afterwards 'laid in two heaps at the entering in of the gate.' (2 Kings x. 8.) The Egyptians generally counted by hands." — Vol. II. p. 288.

The last passage is curiously illustrated by a sculpture from Kouyunjik, in which scribes appear to be writing down on a roll, probably of leather, the number of the heads of the slain, which are thrown at their feet. H. W. T.

## ART. II. — RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE.\*

IN proposing to devote a few pages to the subject of religion in France, we are not blind to the difficulties of the task, nor to the need of cautious, as well as of modest, judgment. What different opinions would be expressed on the question, What is the state of religion in America? by those who have passed their lives in this country, and who have had far more abundant means of judging correctly than a foreigner, writing of any land after some two or three years' residence in it, can have!

We would first make a few remarks on the actual condition of French Roman Catholicism. France is still a Roman Catholic country. The extent to which this remark is true is not, we think, generally understood by Protestants. The Roman Catholic Church not only exists, but it wields a greater influence, and has more vitality, than those seem to suppose who speak of France as of "a land where the old religion has died out." It comprehends, including the see of Algiers, fifteen archbishoprics, and sixty-six bishoprics. The dignitaries who fill these offices are nominated by the head of the French government. Since the revolution of 1830, all connection between the Roman Catholic Church and the state has ceased, except so far as its ministers, in common with those of the Protestant churches, receive small stipends from government. The number of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics is computed at about forty thousand. This estimate includes, we presume, the inmates of monasteries, as well as the active members of the priesthood.

Nothing surprised us so much, on revisiting Paris after an interval of ten years, as the increased attendance at the Roman Catholic churches. Many of the largest of them

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\* 1. *L'Ami de la Religion*. [Roman Catholic.] 1848-49. Paris.

2. *Troisième Rapport de la Société Évangélique de France*. Paris. 1848.

3. *L'Annaliste*. Paris. 1849.

4. *Christian Union*. New York. Articles on France.

5. *Lettres Methodistes*, par LUD. DAUERN, Docteur en Théologie. Paris. 1833.

6. *A Voice from the Alps: or a Brief Account of the Evangelical Societies of Paris and Geneva, &c.* Edited by the REV. E. BICKERSTETH. London. 1838. 16mo. pp. 178.

(and the Madeleine and St. Roch each holds from six to seven thousand people) are now crowded every Sunday, which were then comparatively empty. In the rural districts, this is even more strikingly the case than in Paris.

Again, in no Catholic country is there so much of the missionary spirit as in France. To say nothing of the great central society at Lyons, (the idea of which was suggested by a poor woman of that city,) the large funds of which are derived from subscriptions of two cents per week, raised throughout the whole Catholic world, and spent, we believe, exclusively in "evangelizing" Protestant countries, about three fourths of the Roman Catholic missionaries in heathen lands are Frenchmen. In the East, the scene of the missionary triumphs of their fellow-countryman, Xavier, they are especially numerous. The fourteen Roman Catholic bishops in China are all natives of France. The records of early Jesuit enterprise exhibit nothing more heroic or thrilling in narrative, than do some of the reports of these devoted men, now laboring, and not seldom suffering martyrdom, in China, New Holland, and the islands of the Indian Ocean. In a land which is foremost among the Catholic states for its missionary zeal, the spirit of the ancient religion can hardly be said to have entirely died out.

A similar inference is suggested by even a very rapid glance at the numerous charitable enterprises which have directly their origin in the Roman Catholic Church. We should like to dwell on this, the most agreeable aspect of Catholicism in France, as it is of that system everywhere else. We can only, however, refer to these institutions very briefly. Among them is the order of the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, established in 1679, by the Abbé Jean Baptiste de la Salle. As its name indicates, the main object of its foundation was to enforce the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. This, nevertheless, has not been deemed incompatible with another; namely, the giving of instruction in the ordinary branches of elementary knowledge to immense numbers of the lowest classes. In 1829, there were eighteen hundred brothers (the great majority then, as now, being laymen) of this order, who gave instruction to fifty-two thousand scholars. Soon after the revolution of 1830, evening schools for the poor, adults as well as children, were established. At the present time, throughout France, there are 164,743 persons who receive instruction at these evening and day schools.

In Paris, there are thirty-two infant-schools, six for adults and one for apprentices, attended by eight thousand children and two thousand adults, generally of the working classes.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul is another beautiful offspring of French Catholicism. It is composed of pious young persons, who, in the language of its constitution, "are willing to consecrate some hours every week to doing good," who are disposed to visit the poor, to relieve their sufferings, procure places for the children, work for adults, &c.,—in short, with an aim similar to that of our "ministry at large." This society, too, is very extensive. Its branches exist in one hundred and two towns and villages in the country. In Paris alone, it has 1177 active members, affords annually aid to more than three thousand families, and has the friendly oversight (*patrone*) of some fifteen hundred children, who are at school and elsewhere at its expense.

Another establishment, the *Maison des Ouvriers*, also under ecclesiastical patronage, has for its object the procuring of employment for workmen. To show the extent of its operations, we need only say that sixty thousand persons have partaken of its benefits in one year.

In addition to the Sisters of Charity, there are several large associations of females, who, under the names of "*Sœurs Augustines*," "*Sœurs de Sainte Marie*," &c., perform precisely the same offices as these, in the hospitals and at private houses. The *Société de St. François de Régis* was founded in 1826, in view of the fact that one third of the births at Paris were illegitimate, and with the object of encouraging marriage, and putting an end to concubinage, among the poorer classes especially. Since its foundation, up to 1847, it claims to have produced these good effects in 30,926 cases. During the last year it was instrumental in obtaining the passage of a law lessening very much the fees to be paid for certificates, registering, &c., which before were quite burdensome to the poor.

The convents in France are not, as they are sometimes called, "receptacles for idle people." Most of them are boarding-schools for girls. Some receive young orphan-girls daily, to whom the inmates teach needle-work and other useful occupations. Others have connected with them asylums for penitent females, or else rooms which are furnished to

young women from the country seeking employment in the city. Five convents, "among others," are mentioned, where there are workshops for poor women.

It would be easy to continue the catalogue of charitable institutions which may be said to be under the direct patronage of the priesthood. Those who affirm that the only signs of the influence of the Catholic Church, even in Paris, are the splendor of its worship and a cold respect paid to its administrations, are hardly aware, we apprehend, of the extent of the beneficent influences which have their main source in what seems to them so empty and formal. We have said that public worship on Sunday is well attended; we may add, that the ceremonial of the Catholic Church in France is rich and splendid. Nowhere does one see the peculiar rites of Catholicism under more imposing outward aspects. Still, from what has been remarked on these and other points, we should not infer that therefore there is much ground for the sanguine expectations of triumph or progress which zealous members of this Church entertain. The contrast between an Italian and a French congregation, as respects seriousness and engagedness, is most striking. What, however, is more significant than this is the fact, about which there is no dispute, that in France the number of those who attend the confessional is very small compared to those who go to mass. On one occasion, indeed, when Ravaignan preached, three thousand persons partook of the communion, and the efforts of a society founded with the aim of inducing people to go to confession have had some success. Still, the hold of the Church upon its nominal members, so far as aught beyond attendance at its Sunday services is concerned, would seem slight, compared with what it is either in Italy, in Ireland, or in Germany. Again, very little can be said in praise of the Catholic preaching, generally speaking, that one hears in France. The Catholic Church, since the days of Fénelon, Bossuet, and Massillon, has produced but few great preachers. It is only till lately that men of any eminence have occupied her pulpits. The Abbé de la Mennais (now, however, forbidden to preach, his doctrines being condemned by Papal authority) drew very large audiences, on whom he made the impression of true eloquence. The same is in a measure true of Ravaignan, a Jesuit, — though perhaps he excels more in argument and clear logical statement than in the higher displays of oratory; and especially



of Lacordaire, the great preacher of the Dominican order, the announcement of one of whose *Notre Dame conferences* (not sermons) will fill the vast cathedral to its utmost capacity hours before the service. One cannot listen to his peculiar, shrill tones for a few minutes, or even look on his most strikingly intellectual face, of a type oftener seen in Catholic than Protestant countries, — where high-toned spirituality seems joined with the keenest worldly sagacity, not to say cunning, — where apostolic gentleness appears to dwell with something sterner and fiercer than apostolic firmness and decision, — especially when he sees those thin lips compressed and that brightest of all small black eyes flash, when the words *Protestant* or *Protestantisme* are used, — one can hardly hear for a few minutes, or even look on that pale, thin face, without feeling, that, if the work be possible to reconcile the spirit which moves Young France with the spirit of Catholicism, — the Catholicism of past ages, of France of the olden time, — that he of all others will be the man who will be able to do this. He thinks he can, — and so apparently do those large groups of students from the Quartier Latin, who seem hardly able to repress the impulse to break out into rapturous applause, as, after an eloquent apostrophe to France or to the Church of the Middle Ages, he adds, — “But this is a commonplace, and, by the grace of God, we have a horror of commonplaces.”\* None question, however, the wonderful genius and power of the Dominican, while all likewise admit that he stands almost alone as a powerful preacher. Though he and Ravaignan perhaps may be classed among the pulpit orators of the nineteenth century, the common standard of Catholic preaching throughout France is of a very ordinary description. Nor, further, is it what may be properly styled Catholic. This latter point has been so well illustrated by the Rev. M. Coquerel, that we will offer to our readers a translation of a short passage from his Letter to M. Guizot : —

“The clergy themselves have much to do with my Protestant hopes. . . . Their preaching, generally speaking, has little of the Catholic element. Visit the churches of the capital. You will hear discourses against infidelity, against materialism, against anarchy of opinion, the over-boldness of systems, dis-

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\* According to Turnbull, he used these very words on one occasion. See “Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland.”

courses in favor of authority and infallibility, upon the good effect which Catholicism has had upon civilization, science, philosophy, even liberty, — discourses against Protestantism. But of good frank sermons, well filled with Catholic dogmas, — how many of these are preached in a year in Paris? Even the celebrated *conferences* of *Notre Dame*, — are not these rather the ingenious dissertations of a rhetorician, who embellishes, and not infrequently evades, great questions, than the instructions in a positive form of an infallible church, sending forth anathemas against error, a sanction to the truth, and to the souls of the hearers eternal safety or perdition? In one word, it seems to me, Sir, that Catholicism is not entirely Catholic in the pulpit; and I think the reason of this is, that the congregation is always a little Protestant.”

Other reasons for believing that Catholicism is not destined to very extensive future influence, growing out of the progress of intelligence and liberal principles, will be referred to farther on.

The Protestants of France are designated in the acts of government as *Calvinistes*. The internal constitution of their churches has been so fully pointed out in former pages of this journal,\* that we must refer our readers to them for information upon this point. They are divided into two communions; — *les Reformés*, having four hundred and eighty-six preachers, and *les Luthériens*, or *Evangeliques de la Confession d'Augsburg*, having two hundred and forty-five preachers; in all, seven hundred and thirty-one. The terms Reformed Church, Lutherans, and Church of the Augsburg Confession, do not, however, give a clew to the theological opinions of French Protestants. Many are classed under all these names who are Unitarians or Arians. Indeed, these latter are in the majority. We have been assured by ministers of both parties, that hardly one fifth of the preachers could be styled believers in the Trinity, or, as one of our informants expressed it, *Evangelical* (that is, in the sectarian sense of the word) in any respect as regards doctrine.

All the ministers receive stipends from government, the deficiency in their means of support being supplied by their parishioners, or the consistories to which they belong. Nine preachers (at Paris) receive 3,000 francs per year each; sixty-five receive 2,000 each; one hundred and four, 1,800;

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\* See Christian Examiner for November, 1844.

five hundred and forty-nine, 1,500 ; and a few others from 700 to 750, per year.

Twenty religious periodicals (in 1848) were devoted to the interests of Protestantism. Since the Revolution, three or four of these have been given up. Some of the religious benevolent associations are in the receipt of considerable sums yearly. The Protestant Bible Society, in 1847, received 87,257 francs ; the Missionary Society, in 1847, 102,510 ; in 1848, 120,000. Of the three collegiate institutions where Protestant ministers are educated, Geneva and Strasburg are under liberal, and Montauban is under Calvinistic influences. Geneva is now the favorite seminary for liberal theological education. At Strasburg, according to its catalogue of last year, there graduated in 1847 twenty-four young preachers, leaving behind thirty-four, pursuing their theological studies ; while at Montauban seven obtained their certificates of being qualified (*d'aptitude*), eleven remaining who had passed their third examination. The number of students pursuing preparatory studies is about the same in both institutions, i. e. twenty-eight and thirty. We have not been able to find a catalogue of the Genevan school. It is larger, we believe, than either of the others.

In May, 1848, a meeting was held at Paris, which is destined to have a most important influence upon French Protestantism. We allude to that of the delegates from the Reformed churches which are supported by the state, their object being to take measures for the preparation of an ecclesiastical constitution for the national Protestant Church. This gave rise to a great deal of animated discussion. Several of the orthodox party attacked the old system of ecclesiastical government, on these three grounds :—first, “ that the law of April, 1802, intrusts the entire government of the church, together with the choice of the minister, to *consistoires*, composed only of those Protestants who pay a certain amount of taxes, or, in other words, who are wealthy ; second, there is no confession of faith ; and third, there is no discipline, the pastor being obliged to administer the Lord’s supper to all who present themselves.”

It was evident, also, that, on the part of a very small minority of delegates, there was an earnest opposition to all connection between church and state, even though that were no other than was implied in the reception, by the ministers, of pecuniary aid from government. It was on this point that

the discussion at first mainly turned. A document written by the Rev. M. Grandpierre, of the Calvinistic party, was placed in the seats of the delegates, which excited great attention. It was a very elaborate argument against the voluntary system, based, among other grounds, upon the *want of success* which had attended the experiment in the United States! Its opinions were reëchoed by a large majority of the delegates.

The question then coming up, Who shall have a right to vote? some members were in favor of a doctrinal test. One after another was proposed, but rejected by large majorities; among them, the Apostles' Creed; and finally, an article making baptism and attendance at the communion the necessary qualification. The result of the whole debate was, that the assembly decided that the only qualification should be the possession of civil rights by all persons aged twenty-one years, and "who would declare that they belong, and heartily adhere to, the Reformed Church of France." "It is to be regretted," says the Christian Union, edited by the Rev. Mr. Baird, "that so deplorable a motion, made, as it evidently was, under the influence of Socinianism, the adherents of which were in the majority, should have been warmly supported by such men as Adolphus, Monod, Grandpierre, and other Evangelical pastors."

The Rev. Frederic Monod and the Rev. M. Cambon were exceptions to his last remark; they formally protested against this decision, and, in concert with Count Agenor de Gasparin (whom we remember, in 1840, as objecting most strenuously, in one of his publications, to the imposition of any confession of faith, though then, as now, he was an earnest Calvinist), have issued an address calling upon all true Christians to found a church that shall have no connection with the state, and resting on a distinctive Calvinistic creed. A few weeks will decide how far the experiment of a free church in France is likely to be successful:

The views of the liberal portion of the church are very fully expressed in "*L'Orthodoxie Moderne*," by A. Coquerel. A few extracts from it will give our readers a tolerably clear idea of its tenor.

"We believe that the Holy Bible, the only inspired book, contains a direct and positive revelation from the Spirit of God, a revelation which is sufficient for all wants, but that this inspiration is not in the words, and that, consequently, any wholly

literal translation of the Bible always runs the risk of making it contradict reason, conscience, history, and, above all, itself. On this basis rests our faith.

"We believe in the miracles of the Old and New Testament, after having previously examined, according to the rules of sound exegesis, if such or such a fact comes under this class.

"We believe in the prophecies, without admitting that the Old Testament is a long oracle and perpetual type of the New.

"We believe that man's salvation originated in God's mercy, and has for its means the whole of Christ's mission; that is, his word, his life, his sacrifice, his voluntary death, and his glorious resurrection.

"We believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ, as the only Son of God and the only mediator, while we reject the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, and admit that faith should stop at the limit placed by our Lord himself, when he said, 'No man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father.'"

Further on we find this language : —

"All the questions regarding the Trinity, belonging as they do to the speculative part of religion, to mere opinion, the love of God and our neighbour has nothing to do with. We are convinced that the Trinitarian symbol of Athanasius has not excited in the entire Church one single feeling of repentance, resignation, or love."

None can read the whole essay without classing its author and his adherents, as they now are classed at home and abroad, among modern Unitarians.

In respect to the spiritual condition of the Protestant community, taken as a whole, so far as outward manifestations of religious interest and vitality are concerned, it seems less favorable than we had hoped to find it. The Protestant Established Church is apparently open, at least in some degree, to the same charges of supineness and lukewarmness which commonly characterize national establishments. It is true that the assertions of the Calvinistic party on this point are to be received with great caution. "A lifeless, dead church," "a community where all are skeptical, or enemies of the Gospel," simply means, oftentimes, that those of whom this is said are not Calvinists. The same terms we can easily suppose applied to many a New England village, where we think there is a good degree of unostentatious, but sincere, and, in our sense of the word, *evangelical* piety. Still, though these reproaches are by no means true to the

extent which one might infer from reading some of the religious papers of the opposite party, we fear that there is some reason for the charges which they contain. Owing mainly to the unhappy influences, in various forms, growing out of the history of the country during the present century, we apprehend that, so far as conclusions may be drawn from the neglect of religious institutions, from non-attendance on the services of Sunday, as well as at the communion, many of the Protestant churches have but a name to live. Nor can it be denied, while we at the same time feel that these are by no means certain tests of Christian attainment, that most of the tokens of zeal and religious interest, which are exhibited by the French Protestants, proceed from the "Evangelical party."

True, in looking over all reports emanating from very zealous religionists, one meets many drawbacks upon entire confidence. Unauthorized stress is laid upon single incidents; trivial anecdotes abound; opinions are expressed having not the slightest weight unless we are acquainted with the parties. We wish to know not only the character for sound judgment of the missionary, or the colporteur, but also who and what those are upon whose testimony he asserts that the people are losing all confidence in the old system, whether Catholicism or "dead" Protestantism. We wish, too, for similar information about the "many converts" who are made to Calvinistic sentiments. The interest taken by a few persons is often transferred to a whole village, or even department. That which may have been only idle curiosity is ascribed to "intense religious interest." In fine, earnest people see what they wish to see, in perfect good faith. No one likes to confess that his labors are utterly useless. The influence of these tendencies must be allowed for in reading the reports both of the Société Evangélique of Paris, and the "Christian Union" of New York. And yet, nevertheless, we have examined these and other evidences of the activity of the Calvinistic party in France with much interest. Making all these reservations, it is impossible not to feel that they, though in a minority, are strong in the efficiency and resources of ardent zeal, and that they occupy, in some respects, very much the same position as Wesley and Whitefield did in England a hundred years ago. They are animated by a similar spirit, employ similar instrumentalities, and fall into similar faults. They meet some

religious wants, while they, on the other hand, undoubtedly confirm many prejudices against religion, which a less narrow system would disarm.

Calvinism is always rather belligerent. The same iron purpose, the same righteous indignation, the same admirable *drill*, which made the military saints of Cromwell's time victors on many a battle-field, are transferred to the theological battle-ground ; especially if in the one case, as in the other, churchmen be the opponents. The Romish Church has no enemies so indefatigable, so terrible, as the disciples of the stern Genevan Reformer. The scarlet robe covers nothing venerable in their view ; they will not even admit that its folds are tasteful ; they have no pleasant associations with its antiquity. It is the old cloak for abuse and iniquity ; it is time that it should be torn off ; it is red with the blood of martyrs, — of *Protestant* martyrs.

In France, the land which has witnessed the effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and where the stranger in Paris is still shown the site of the residence of a Coligny, this spirit is very strong in the ranks of Calvinism. In no connection do the earnestness and religious activity of the Calvinistic portion of the French Protestants appear so strongly as in their efforts to convert Catholics, to subvert Catholicism. It would appear that this spirit of proselytism is not shared to any considerable extent by their more liberal brethren ; certainly not, if Coquerel be regarded as an exponent of their sentiments, when, as in his "*Lettre à un Pasteur*," he says, — " My Protestant faith, I confess, takes alarm and is distressed, when I think that an imprudent frenzy of proselytism, which is *exceedingly rare among us*, should be imputed to the Protestant clergy of France, thus compromising our fair and praiseworthy reputation for tolerance and courtesy." Certain it is, that most, if not all, the movements in the way of proselyting of which we read have their origin among those of a different school from that to which M. Coquerel belongs.

A few extracts from a large mass of reports and other documents, bearing in mind the qualifications and reservations just alluded to, will convey some idea of these movements.

The Société Évangélique, having for its aim the propagation of *Evangelical* religion in France, founded in 1836, received, in 1848, 231,077 francs. It employed one hundred and thirty colporteurs and other laborers, and sustained

wholly or in part between two and three hundred churches. The Paris Tract Society, in 1848, issued over 613,000 copies of cheap publications. In the last report of this society, several cities, boroughs, and villages are cited, from which the Catholic curates have been sent away by the people, who have said, "No more Catholic priests; we wish to become Protestants." In the vicinity of the town of Sens (department of the Yonne) the pastor preaches in no less than eighteen towns and villages where "the pure Gospel" has never before been proclaimed. Another large parish, entirely Roman Catholic, in the vicinity of Brie, is referred to, almost the whole of whose inhabitants are anxious to have the Gospel preached. Seven colporteurs have been supported at Lyons, and the number of communicants at the chapel recently founded there has reached to three hundred and eighty-two.

"Last Sunday," — a fortnight after the Revolution, the "zealous laborer Charbonnez" writes, — "four neighbouring parishes have driven away their priests. In every direction we hear the same cry, — 'We will have no more of them.' In the town of Blesle the people were shouting, 'Hurrah for the Protestants! Down with the priests!'"

The names of some twenty more villages are given, where Calvinistic preachers, having been sent for, were heard gladly, though often "in gloomy barns, by the light of small lamps hung against the walls, and during seasons of the most intense cold."

It would be easy to fill several pages with the records of their doings. Nor are these always confined to proselytism from the Catholics, but, to the doing good in all directions. In Paris, one of the missionaries during the past year has been able to collect some five or six hundred individuals in the quarter of St. Marceau (commonly called the Ragmen's quarter), to listen to his preaching, twice a week. "This is what we need," they frequently exclaim; "our priests never told us these things." "This is the true Christianity of Jesus Christ." Several preachers are employed among the cabmen and the young soldiers of the Garde Mobile, who, we are also told, are frequently, in the orders of the day from their general, Dunvier, addressed on the subject of God and prayer. Measures are also being taken to establish conferences or lectures on the Gospel in the Latin quarter, for the students. In a word, one can hardly find an opening



for religious instruction in any quarter or among any class of men, which is not instantly seized upon by these earnest disciples of Christ, we cannot but think, as well as of Calvin.

They have even turned the frequent chance-gatherings of the sidewalk and the street to useful account. Particularly since the Revolution, large crowds collect out of doors, to discuss political questions and hear the news. We have now before us several unpublished letters, placed at our disposal by the kindness of a highly respected orthodox clergyman of this city, in which the writer, a minister, tells of his preaching to a street audience of several hundreds of workmen of Paris, who had gradually collected around a small group where two individuals, of whom he was one, had entered into a casual conversation upon the question, Is man naturally good or naturally bad? — he maintaining the sinfulness of human nature, and, in answer to the earnest response, “Yes, you’re right, it is so,” coming from many hearers, “but what is the remedy? what shall we do?” directing them, in a discourse of some three quarters of an hour in length, to Jesus Christ. On another occasion, he addressed four thousand persons, composing the Club du Peuple, which had its meetings in an immense hall, founded under the auspices of several avowed infidels, the president being the author of an impious book called “*L’Evangile du Peuple.*” When he first arose to defend Christianity, he was received with hisses and a howl of derision; but on affirming that he was no priest, and no defender of the priesthood, he was listened to with most respectful and profound attention by his infidel audience for more than an hour, was saluted with applause, and at the close accosted by a large number, who pressed forward to grasp his hand and thank him for his discourse. No one can peruse such accounts without feeling that the Evangelical Protestants are doing a good work in many quarters, carrying Gospel truth and peace to many a sinful bosom, which, were it not for them, would have remained in outer darkness.

We will only add to this branch of our subject, that our own personal observation of the manner in which the Protestant Evangelical preachers of Paris perform their important duties has led us to form the highest opinion of them. M. Coquerel’s eloquence, his indefatigable labors as a pastor, his industry in the instruction of his younger parishioners, have been already commented upon in former pages of our

journal. We confess, though our doctrinal opinions are widely different from theirs, that we have heard the Rev. M. Monod, and particularly the Rev. M. Grandpierre, and two or three other preachers of the Evangelical class, with almost as much pleasure as we have listened to him. We heard from these orthodox gentlemen no dull, dry statements of "what we believe," and very little of Calvinism in any form; but instead, simple, solemn, yet affectionate addresses to the heart and conscience, resting, too, on as strong appeals to the reason and understanding of the hearer, which did us good, and which would be profitable anywhere. There was something, perhaps, in the simplicity of the service, in the earnest aspect of the audience, generally of the middle classes, and in the humble appearance of the small building, outside the gate, in one of the poorest quarters of Paris, which — reminding one partly of primitive times, when, in great wicked cities like this, the apostles preached in like lowly edifices, and partly of some of our own little country churches — added to the effect, and made us think we had rarely listened to preaching, certainly not in Europe, more effective and useful.

On the question, What effects has the late Revolution had upon religion in France? it is impossible to speak with any assurance. The state of feeling and morality which revolutions produce is never favorable, in the first instance, to the religious sentiment. We find in the periodicals of all the religious parties constant complaint, not only on this score, but of the diminished receipts of all their great benevolent societies. Some Protestant writers in these refer, in terms of exultation, to the fact that many Roman Catholic priests have been driven out of their parishes; others not only mention reactions in favor of the Catholics in some of these very villages, but express the melancholy conviction, that the more violent revolutionists, at least, are opposed to all religion. The Catholic journals lament the prevalent license, but they do not see anything in the Revolution opposed to the interests of their church. The priests were always bitter opponents of Louis Philippe. They have shown themselves, often ostentatiously, the friends of the popular movement; and thus far have, on the whole, been treated with great consideration by the government. No law or other action of the government has as yet changed in any essential respect the relations of Protestantism to Catholicism. The Protestants naturally

believe that their cause will gain with every impulse given to free thought ; but the Catholics are quite as sanguine. " Give French Catholics," said an intelligent priest to us, " the same laws, the same freedom, which American Catholics enjoy, and we will sweep Protestantism away."

How far are these opposite opinions in relation to the future of Catholicism and Protestantism in France based on solid grounds ? We cannot but think, notwithstanding what we deem on the part of American Protestants a disposition to underrate the attractions and the power of the Roman Catholic Church here as elsewhere, that still they are not mistaken who believe that it is not in harmony with the spirit of the age, and cannot look, therefore, for any further extensive triumphs on French soil. Guizot, in 1838, expressed the opinion, that " France will not become Protestant, but Protestantism will not perish in France." We apprehend that, in 1849, the converse of the proposition comes nearer the truth ; in other words, that there is too much in the Catholic system appealing to what is best as well as most imperfect in the human heart to allow of its ever perishing in France ; while, owing to the weak hold which it has on the respect and affections of the masses, liberalized and enlightened as they are every day becoming, there is as little hope that it will retain even its present numerical superiority. Certain it is, that even its apparent successes are acquired by a compromise with its peculiar tenets, and that Protestantism is constantly gaining from its ranks. It is sometimes thought that the simplicity of the latter is an obstacle to its prevalence in countries hitherto Catholic ; but, to say nothing of tendencies to run into opposite extremes of all kinds, men tire in religion, as in other connections, of incessant form and ceremony and show. The feelings which in England, in the days of Fox, led multitudes of the English Church to join him, belong to the human heart everywhere. The attraction of the Romish ritual to a New England mind is frequently not less strong than that of the simplicity of our worship to a Catholic. It is a striking fact, that in no part of France is Protestantism so rife as at the extreme south, where, owing to the climate and the temperament of the people, we should suppose there would be most of fondness for spectacle and pomp. Still, we have very little idea that the Calvinism of Monod, De Gasparin, &c., will command much more extensive assent

in future than it has already, notwithstanding its zeal and its success in some quarters. Calvinism in France has never been of so stern and ungenial a stamp as it has borne in New England or Scotland. National character has always modified its dogma and rule. There appears to be very little in the circumstances of the present age to counteract this influence. One can hardly conceive of things more inharmonious than the spirit of Calvinism and the national peculiarities of Frenchmen. May we not presume that Messrs. Grandpierre and others, of strictly Evangelical sentiments, understood this when they, so much to the astonishment of their friends in America, objected to the imposition of any creed ?

Again, will a people who have set aside the authority of the Catholic Church be inclined to receive, simply on the ground of authority, the formula of any church ? Is it not easy to conjecture that such persons will have very little of that awe which we sometimes find in New England when such words as these, "the church articles," "church censure," "church excommunication," are used ?

So, too, when the Calvinists are told that such doctrines are not to be reasoned about, and that such a truth is a mystery, not to be explained but believed in, and when they call to mind the modes of argument by which the old doctrine of transubstantiation was defended, will they not begin to suspect, especially if brought under church discipline for exercising on these points the Protestant right of private judgment, that, after all, there is less difference than they had supposed between the two systems ? A similar remark applies to much in the practical operations of the Evangelical system, which is in many minds, in Protestant countries especially, associated with ideas of superior earnestness and warmth. We cannot now dwell on this point. Suffice it to say, that, with every disposition to appreciate the earnestness and warmth of our Evangelical brethren, we think that a great deal which passes for these, under the form, for example, of frequent meetings, missionary zeal, undue stress laid upon certain religious observances, &c., finds its counterpart in Catholic lands, and would therefore make a very different impression on an observer there from what it produces frequently in a Protestant community. Nor would we be blind to much in the movements and modes of address of our brethren which commands our respect, when we add,

that the same sharp-sighted, thoroughly French sense of the ludicrous, which produced the "*Tartuffe*" of Molière, has given birth to an equally celebrated satire on Protestant sanctimonious pretension, namely, the "*Lettres Methodistes*." In fine, while we admit that the Evangelical party has done great good in some quarters of France, we cannot believe that their form of Protestantism is destined to prevail very extensively.

The fact, that many persons, tired of what they consider the inanities of Catholicism, should welcome the first religious system that is presented to them which has an appearance of sincerity and warmth, by no means proves that it will command their respect and affection when they shall have become more acquainted with it. The assertion, which we find in a Calvinistic journal, that, in several instances, the same villages which at first cried out, "Down with the priests!" a few weeks afterwards were heard exclaiming, "Down with the Protestants!" has great significance.

So, too, we may most cheerfully admit that Calvinism in France, as elsewhere, prompts not infrequently to noble Christian deeds, and expresses itself in Christian phrase. The same is true of Catholicism; but this is not saying that the system is adapted, in our opinion, to the popular wants, or calculated to exert a wide influence in future. Nor, further, is there much reason for fearing that a bald, unspiritual rationalism will be adopted to any great degree. So far as we can learn, what is called German rationalism has not as yet attracted much regard among French Protestants. There is, it is admitted by all writers on the subject, a growing religious sentiment throughout the whole country, a sense of the need of an earnest and positive faith. We apprehend that the same spirit which rejects narrowness and intolerance, as being too closely akin to what has been always the reproach of the ancient Catholicism of France, will have as little fellowship with that which must suggest similar reminiscences of the ancient skepticism of France, of both of which there is reason for believing the French people are becoming every year more and more weary. The character of the theology with which French Protestantism, influenced as it must always be by the genius of the people and the history of the past, will assimilate, is, we think, clearly indicated in the decision of the synod to which reference has been already made. The causes of the change which has been for some time

operating in the religious opinions of Protestants are not to be found, as our American Orthodox friends affirm, in the union between church and state which has existed in France.\* On the contrary, we apprehend that an essay, published some years ago by our own Unitarian Association, under the title of "Causes of the Progress of Liberal Christianity in New England," throws not a little light upon the causes of the progress of liberal principles in France. Peculiarities of national character, the progress of society, liberal views in other connections, and more especially an unwillingness to bring religious liberty under the bondage of creeds and church formulas, have asserted their influence in both countries.

The French national church must, however, shake off much of its present lethargy, if it seeks to exert a broader influence. The temperament of the people craves earnestness and warmth in religion, as in everything else. It will not be satisfied with a cold system, nor with a mere system of negations. So, too, if Frenchmen have seen in the old church enough of bigotry and narrowness and intolerance, and in the old skepticism enough of its inability to meet the wants of the soul, they have also seen, in the one, vain attempts to reconcile spirituality with unworthy concessions to fashionable worldliness and frivolity, and, in the other, as futile efforts to deify human reason and make justice and benevolence stand for the whole religion of man. France needs, as we do, a religious system which, while it believes in progress and refuses to meet no great question in theology or philosophy or social life, is reverent and humble and devout, — which shall maintain a high tone of spirituality, like that of Pascal and Fénelon, while it avoids, at the same time, the mysticism of the Port Royalists, and applies Christian ethics to the relations of family, trade, politics, to all spheres of every-day duty, — a system that shall be liberal on many points upon which most religionists, from the days of the Pharisees, have been over-strict, but on all practical questions of right and wrong, — on all questions which a tender conscience solves without halt or parley, but on which the

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\* A sermon was preached eight or ten years since in Philadelphia, by a Presbyterian clergyman, the object of which was to show that Unitarianism in New England was the offspring of Congregationalism, — a system the farthest possible removed from anything like a union of church and state.

merely respectable or even moral man has no light, having himself no light within, — on these, rigid with the most rigid, strict with the strictest. We think that such a religious system (though not, we fear, presented so fully as it should be by the great body of liberal Protestants of the national church, and perhaps never destined to be till the present union between their church and the state is dissolved) is beginning to find fitting expression in more than one living voice. Coquerel, at least, cannot be accused of being merely a cold or moral preacher, while on the other hand there do not attach to his ministrations or his doctrines aught that is repulsive in the tactics or dogmas of Calvinism.

Deep seriousness, glow, pathos, spirituality, and unction mark his preaching quite as much as strong argument. We cannot think of anything in it, unless it be the "omission" of what he would style "the great fundamental doctrines," and "not going far enough," that an Orthodox American hearer would say reminded him of defects in Unitarian preaching elsewhere, — commonly supposed to hinder its efficiency. We are very confident that the quickening influence of M. Coquerel is felt, not only among the two or three thousand hearers who every Sunday throng his church, but by the whole community of Protestants, ministers and laymen, to which he belongs. American Unitarians know, not only how comparative warmth and earnestness may take the place of what has been called, rightly or wrongfully, the characteristic coldness of a denomination, but also how much even single eminent individuals may effect in giving, in a measure, the stamp of their own peculiarities to a whole religious body.

Then, too, not unfrequently, a church is inspirited to new activity by those who secede from its ranks. The withdrawal of Whitefield and Wesley undoubtedly had an awakening effect upon the English Church. May it not be hoped, that a like result, but greater in degree, may follow the efforts of the few earnest men who have recently seceded from the fold of the French national church, quickening its dormant energies, and provoking its members to imitation of the zeal and energy of which these have given them the example? When we add to these thoughts the consideration, that in France there is very little of that attachment to Calvinism which has had here, at least in part, its origin in New England tradition and history, we cannot but hope, —

though he must be presumptuous who in these days attempts to prophesy with over-confidence in respect to anything French, — we cannot but hope that the growing religious sentiment of France will assume a form with which we can sympathize in all respects, and that we shall hear from time to time, not only accounts of increasing liberality in the religious opinions of Protestants, but also of new zeal and warmth, new success in converting sinners, and in raising the tone of public sentiment and morals through the land. May it provoke us to imitation thereof, when we rejoice at the new confirmation given to our faith, that there, as here, an earnest but rational piety is competent to meet the religious wants of society and the individual.

J. P.

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ART. III.—THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE, AND  
THE “COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.”\*

THE “College of the Holy Cross” is situated upon what may be called the central hill of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a gentle and slightly elevation in the rural city of Worcester. Travellers on the line of the railroad have doubtless marked from time to time the progressive increase of the structures on that hill, and those who have known their purpose have probably meditated upon what would be the amazement of the fathers of New England if they could revisit these scenes. A few years ago, a long, low, wooden edifice crowned the summit, and was the germ of the present institution. The College was founded five years since by Bishop Fenwick of Boston, at an expense of \$25,000. A few days before his death, he conveyed the real estate to the Trustees of the Catholic College in Georgetown, D. C., an institution incorporated by act of Congress. The expressed condition of the deed was, that the “Bishop of Boston” for the time being should always have the right of sending to the institution, without charge,

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\* *House Document, No. 130. Being the Reports of a Majority and a Minority of “The Joint Standing Committee on Education, to whom was re-committed the Report on the Petition of John B. Fitzpatrick and others.”* 8vo. pp. 20.



one pupil in each fifty. It is wholly under the "care of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," or the Jesuits, so called, and the proprietary right is still held by Georgetown College, which is also a Jesuits' college.

A stately brick edifice, so constructed as to admit of enlargement, and to which the original structure of wood is an appurtenance, now constitutes the College, which is designed to accommodate two hundred pupils, though the present number is but one hundred and ten, twenty of whom are from this State. The expense to each pupil is \$150 a year. There are seventeen teachers.

Strict conformity with the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church is required of the pupils, who are under an instruction and discipline similar to those of like institutions abroad. They are overlooked by night and by day, at their studies, their meals, and their recreations; they must daily attend mass and three religious exercises; they must perform the duties of the confessional, and receive absolution. These conditions admit of no exception for any pupil. Pupils are received from the age of eight years and upwards. The course of study is intended to embrace eight years, and includes, besides accomplishments, moral and natural philosophy, mathematics, poetry, ancient and modern languages. There is also a theological class for the training of priests.

At the last session of our legislature, "George Fenwick, Peter Blenkinsop, Philip Sacchi, Kenneth A. Kennedy, Augustine L. McMullen, and William Logan" petitioned that they and their successors might be made a corporation by the name of "The College of the Holy Cross," to be established in the city of Worcester, with all the usual powers and privileges, the chief of which are to purchase, hold, and sell property, to sue and be sued, and to confer degrees. This petition was referred to the Joint Standing Committee of the House and Senate on Education, a majority of which reported leave to withdraw. The petition was recommitted. A full, frank, and kindly consideration of the whole matter was entertained by the committee, the petitioners being represented before them. The majority, as at first, was opposed to granting it, and so reported, through the chairman, Mr. Erastus Hopkins. A minority of three members presented a favorable report, through Mr. Charles W. Upham. A protracted discussion,

earnest, good-tempered, and very able on both sides, was held in the House, and the question was decided against the petitioners by a vote of one hundred and seventeen to eighty-four; fifty-two members being absent when the vote was taken.

A very great and a very general interest has been excited by this petition and the discussions to which it led. It is pleasant to know that no acrimonious feelings or ill-temper showed themselves, and that a calm and judicious tone was observed throughout the debates. We have read with interest the reports and the speeches, and think them worthy of examination and remark.

The first essential point on which we need to have a clear understanding is as to the nature and meaning of an act of incorporation. This legislative enactment does not call an institution into being, nor prescribe its range of action. The college which asks for incorporation exists without it, and cannot be extinguished because it is not incorporated. Chief Justice Marshall's definition of the nature and intent of incorporation is, that it "confers the attribute of individuality on a collective and changing body of men." Yet it can hardly be questioned but that the effect of an act of incorporation is to bear with it a sort of warrant or approval on the part of the State of any institution or project which it thus ratifies by its legislation and its seal. The effect is not only to individualize, but to countenance and indorse, a body of men and their object. The end contemplated in a charter is the prospect of a public benefit which shall accrue. Petitions for charters are nearly every year rejected by our legislature, because the ends and benefits contemplated are of a private, not of a public nature. The State will give its formal approbation for education in general, but will deny it to any exclusive or sectarian method of education. If the question be asked, whether the State has not already granted its sanction to colleges founded or used for exclusive and sectarian objects, the answer is, that it has not, certainly not in any terms which the State has defined in the charters of such colleges.

But the request, in the precise form which it wears in the petition before us, has been now made for the first time of our legislature. It never has come up until this year. It now takes the form of what to the Roman Catholic is a demand for conscience' sake, but of what to some

Protestants appears like a patronage of an exclusive sect. The Roman Catholic says, — ‘ I ask toleration for my religion. Now my religion requires me to make it the basis of all education. I know of no education from which the doctrines and discipline of my church shall be excluded. I cannot accept a charter like those of your Protestant colleges, which recognize religious liberty, so called. The only way in which justice can be done to me is to allow me to have a college from which Protestants shall be shut out, in order that the Catholic discipline may be enforced.’

Some Protestants object, that to grant this request would be to recognize a religious creed in legislation, and to open the way to a series of like demands, which may in the end confound legislation, and subvert civil, as well as religious liberty.

The four members who composed the majority of the joint committee offer in their report a brief statement of the origin, the purposes, and the discipline of the Roman Catholic College at Worcester, and then present the reasons why, in their opinion, the petitioners should have leave to withdraw, that is, in other words, why the “ College of the Holy Cross ” should not receive an act of incorporation. We will compress the substance of their argument, as given in the public document before us.

In a conference with the petitioners, the committee learned that any charter like those under which our other colleges exist, and which reserve to the State a power to control or direct the institutions, and to secure unrestricted public benefits from them, would not be acceptable. The petitioners frankly and honorably admitted that their college was unalterably exclusive, that strict compliance with all their religious rules, teachings, and ceremonies would be enforced on every pupil. The committee regard this intention as constituting “ the distinctive feature and the turning-point of the case.” Such exclusiveness is not allowed among the “ powers usually conferred on such institutions.” Amherst College asked originally for a charter exclusively favoring “ Orthodoxy,” and the State for a number of years refused to incorporate that institution on that basis. When at last a charter was granted, it contained the following provision : — “ And be it further enacted, that no instructor in said College shall ever be required, by the trustees, to profess any particular religious opinions, as the test of office, and no stu-

dent shall be refused admission to, or denied any of the privileges, honors, or degrees of, said College, on account of the religious opinions he may entertain." \*

To a provision like this the petitioners of course objected, nor would they allow the right of the State to appoint a portion of the trustees. They admitted, too, that if "they had the civil power, they could not exercise it otherwise than exclusively as to all religious rights." Now the State would depart most widely from her own principles if she recognized a college on such a basis. If this favoritism and patronage of the Romanists is begun in a college, it must next be extended to schools. We make all our colleges, like our schools, public. "The Papist may go to them, or the Jew," with perfect freedom of conscience.

Again, the legislature has no right to grant any charter *without the prospect of a public benefit to result plainly and promptly therefrom*. The sixth article of our Declaration of Rights says, — "No man, nor corporation or association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges distinct from those of the community, *than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public.*" To grant the petitioners a charter for their own uses, and not for the benefit of the public, would be inconsistent with this principle. In conclusion, the committee suggest that other objections might arise; as, for instance, whether the State should add a fourth college to the three which she is bound to foster and encourage, whether another is needed, and whether the institution at Worcester is of an order sufficiently elevated to be chartered as a college. The majority therefore adhere to their original decision, and report that the petitioners have leave to withdraw.

The minority report, offered by three members of the joint committee, is able and judicious, and in our opinion takes the right side. It admits that heretofore our State has truly followed out the great Protestant principle of freedom in requiring of all our colleges that they should liberally offer their advantages, without sectarian limitations, to the public. Protestantism is not shocked by the allowance of perfect freedom in religion. But the Roman Catholic con-

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\* An Act to establish a College in the Town of Amherst, Section 6. Massachusetts Special Laws, 1824.

science cannot approve that freedom. The minority therefore propose a sort of compromise. As the "College of the Holy Cross" cannot be placed on the same footing as our other colleges, it is proposed that it be incorporated as a private institution. Sectarian institutions of learning have in fact been already chartered by our legislature. Such are the institutions at Andover and Newton, and the Wilbraham "Wesleyan Academy." Our legislature cannot directly take cognizance of matters of religious opinion and conscience; but as the Catholics now form from one seventh to one tenth of our population, we may lawfully and properly grant them an institution of their own for their own uses. They are in some respects valuable citizens; it is politic to live in kindness with them. The minority therefore propose a charter under the rules of the Revised Statutes, Chapter 44, and reserving to the legislature a right of "visitation and investigation" at all times.

We have already stated the decision of the legislature, after a full and free debate, and we have implied our dissent from that decision. Of course we would speak with becoming diffidence on such a matter, especially when we presume to differ from the majority of a body of able and wise men, deserving of our high respect as our legislators, and giving evidence in their deliberations of a desire to do strict justice in a somewhat perplexing case. It is the continual marvel of many who live under different European governments, how it happens that our Commonwealth can legislate about churches and colleges and schools, and yet avoid legislating for sects and parties in religion and education. It is remarkable that thus far we have been able to pursue a course which other communities find it so difficult to begin as a substitute for sectarian legislation. That for the future we shall find ourselves at liberty to pursue the same wise and safe course, we cannot but fervently pray, nor should we have a doubt of it, were it not for the mingling of foreign elements in our own native population. With the various forms of Protestantism we have succeeded in keeping a civil peace, without oppressing or patronizing any sect. When Amherst College asked for a charter which should legalize bigotry, the petitioners designed that institution as an offset to the liberality of Harvard. But the State refused to become a party to this balancing of sectarian force.

A new issue has now been raised. The Romanist argues,

that, in legislating for Protestantism under the name of religious liberty, there is a sectarian bias in our legislation, and that he ought to be allowed the act of incorporation now asked for, in order that he may enjoy all the civil rights as a Romanist that we enjoy as Protestants. We do not feel inclined to espouse with much zeal the cause of the petitioners, or to cast censure upon the majority of the legislature. We have our own sincere, and, as we venture to believe, our deliberate, convictions upon the debasing and corrupting influences of the Roman Catholic religion. It has brought ruin upon Italy, Spain, and Ireland, the only three regions of the earth where it has had a full development in modern times. We should grieve for our beloved Commonwealth if we saw any reason to apprehend that the gross perversion of the Christian faith and life which Romanism involves would ever renew its blighting influences here. But we see not how a charter could be refused. We think that to have granted it would have been the course consistent with our own civil and religious principles, the course consistent with true charity, wisdom, and policy. The refusal of a charter betrayed a fear; it was not treating the Romanists here as we ourselves would wish to be treated in a country where they had the power. We think that the refusal was dictated by prejudice, not by enlightened conviction, and that, by rousing a spirit of resentment and zeal and proselytism among the Romanists, it will involve more injury to the best interests of Protestantism than would the granting of a dozen charters similar to that which has been denied. We apprehend, too, that the decision in the case will be only temporary, and that the petition will be renewed until it is granted.

The opponents of the charter refused it on the ground that all the pupils of the College were to be required to conform strictly to Catholic doctrine and discipline. Of course it is to be supposed, then, that none but Romanists, or those who are willing their children should be Romanists, would furnish it with pupils, though Georgetown College has pupils who enter the institution and leave it as Protestants. If the petitioners had not announced that rigid rule of their institution, they would probably have obtained a charter. But then there would have been a constant charge of proselytism raised against it. It would have been called a lure to beguile Protestants, on the plea of furnishing their children with an education. To avoid all the risk of such a charge and of the

perpetual animosities which it would enkindle, the petitioners, without the slightest disguise and in all frankness, avowed their object, took upon themselves the whole burden of a sectarian design, and sought a fair decision upon it. They asked for an act of incorporation, principally on grounds of convenience in the transaction of pecuniary business, so as to relieve tradesmen and merchants, buyers and sellers, in Worcester, of the embarrassment and delay involved in negotiations with parties so far distant as Georgetown, D. C. We can divine no good reason why the petitioners should not have the common privileges and facilities obtained by a charter for an institution which is designed for the education of their own children according to their own views. They certainly warn Protestants off their grounds as sincerely as they invite Catholics to occupy them.

In what points, after all, can we trace a difference between the incorporation of a Roman Catholic college and the incorporation of a Roman Catholic church, or temperance society, or benevolent society, for each of which our legislature has been frequently and always successfully petitioned? There are many incorporated temperance and benevolent societies among us, composed entirely of Irish Catholics, and possessed of large funds. We do not say that their ostensible objects are not their real objects, but we have reasons for believing, that, to an extent far beyond what most Protestants suspect, these societies are turned towards sectarian purposes. Each Roman Catholic church, too, throughout this State, is or may be incorporated. Are not the disciples and worshippers in all of them bound to comply strictly with Catholic doctrine and discipline? How, then, can the State deny a charter to a Catholic college, which asks for no endowment, no especial favor, which involves no wrong to Protestantism, but only utters to it a wholesome warning to strengthen its own defences and be consistent with its own principles? The children of Roman Catholic parents cannot, without that college, enjoy the privilege of an education, in equal consistency with their views of religion, which the children of Protestant parents do enjoy in our colleges.\*

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\* It was asserted by one of the speakers in the discussion in the House of Representatives, that no Roman Catholic youth could enjoy the privileges of Harvard, Amherst, or Williams College, and that, if he should be a pupil of Harvard even, he would be compelled to listen to a sermon on "The Errors of Popery," that is, to an attack on his own religion, when

Now, why should the former be denied what is allowed to the latter? We can conceive no valid reason for the distinction, and therefore it is that we incline to the side of the minority in our General Court.

We will not conceal the fact, that this expression of our free and fearless Protestant views, which would have compelled us to have granted the prayer of the petitioners, is attended with a rising of some painful feelings within us. Catholics have asked of us, and we have advocated their receiving, rights and privileges which, under a change in our mutual relations, they would never grant to us. If a body of citizens from this State were to emigrate and establish themselves in Rome, and there ask what has been asked of us, they would be refused. Indeed, the issue has been raised and so decided. A few years before the recent distractions occurred at Rome, the English residents and visitors there, whose money has for years been the chief security for the Italians against starvation, requested permission to establish a place of worship in that city. They could gratify curiosity and taste in the numerous churches where the worship was strange to them, but for devotion they wanted a service which brought with it to their hearts the associations of youth, of home, of familiarity and affection. Their request was treated as if it were in part a joke, and in part an insult. The utmost that could be gained from a friendly cardinal was an intimation, that, if a quiet upper-room should be selected outside the walls of the city, the English who should assemble there on Sunday, with liturgy and sermon, might not be molested. And there we have worshipped, grateful for the privilege, though somewhat amazed at the sight of the sentries with loaded muskets who guarded the doors. And this is the fashion after which Romanism treats Protestantism where the former has rule.

That single fact decides the question, whether the Roman Church is friendly to civil and religious liberty; and it decides the question in the negative. Where the Roman Church is in the ascendant, it extends the spiritual rule, which at first is the only prerogative it claims,

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the subject came up in its course at the Dudleian Lecture. We are happy to say that the speaker was under a mistake. There is such a pupil at Harvard, who will testify that he has not been persecuted, that he attends his own church on Sundays, and was excused from being present at the Dudleian Lecture, last May.



into the social, civil, domestic, and private relations of men and women. It forbids marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant. It interrupts the ordinary business of life by two hundred and fifty-four feast and saints' days, besides Sundays. It shackles the press, and tells not only its disciples, but Protestants who may live among them, what books they may read, and what books they shall not read. It penetrates into the secrets of household life which concern, often, others than those who go to the confessional. It interferes with the processes of civil law and the courts of justice, and, beside all these encroachments, even in its purely religious functions it interposes itself between the soul of man and God. Then, when Protestantism raises an issue with Romanism, and asks for its rights, what is the answer? The Romanist says, — "It is not inconsistent with Protestant religion and conscience to allow us our liberty, but it is inconsistent with our religion and conscience to allow Protestant liberty among us." The simple meaning of this formula is, that the Roman Catholic religion and conscience, wherever Romanism has power, requires an oppression of Protestant religion and conscience. We hope our Catholic fellow-citizens may learn here the beauty and consistency of reciprocity. But instead of their being taught that lesson by suffering here the ills of oppression and persecution, we should much prefer to have it recommended to them by a perfect and unfettered freedom.

If, in the refusal of our last legislature to incorporate the "College of the Holy Cross," the Romanists among us think they can discover illiberal and unjust feeling, let them fairly consider the aspect of the case to the descendants of old New England fathers. The oft-told story plainly shows that our fathers sought this wild, dreary region, hard and inhospitable as it was, for the sake of an everlasting riddance of Popery, with all its forms and substance. They hated it, they were absolutely and irreconcilably disgusted with it. They hoped never to see a rag nor a remnant of it on this side of the great deep. They suffered everything in their home trials, their passage, their exile, their wilderness state, and in their purchase of the best part of all religious experience, that which taught them their errors. They had an end in view in coming here, and so far the end is gained. Under their institutions, civil and religious, and as the reward of their endurance, the scenes around us have become love-

ly, — the happiest, the purest, the most attractive and prosperous, which are to be found on the face of the whole earth. And now, after the new fields are tilled and fenced, and just as the old stories of ecclesiastical oppression and superstition which our fathers used to tell with a painful knowledge of the reality have softened into romance, Rome and Babylon seem inclined to move over hither, and ask a kind reception. It is almost too much for the children of the Puritans to bear. Out from the heart of our beloved Commonwealth are now to graduate, from year to year, Jesuit priests, — the O'Briens, the O'Flahertys, and the McNainaras. Ireland and Rome together make a combination of a not very attractive character to the sons of New England sires. The Romanists must pardon the prejudice, if such it be. In the mean while, let us believe that no righteous cause will suffer because men do justly by one another.

G. E. E.

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#### ART. IV. — NARRATIVES OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.\*

AMERICA has the mournful honor of adding a new department to the literature of civilization, — the autobiographies of escaped slaves. We have placed below the titles of five narratives of this description. The subjects of two of these narratives, Douglass and Henson, we have known personally, and, apart from the internal evidence of truth which their stories afford, we have every reason to put confidence in them as men of veracity. The authors of the remaining accounts are, for anything we know to the contrary, equally trustworthy. We place these volumes

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\* 1. *Narrative of Henry Watson, a Fugitive Slave.* Written by Himself. Boston: Published by Bela Marsh. 1848. 12mo. pp. 48.

2. *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis and Milton Clarke among the Slaveholders of Kentucky.* Boston: Published by Bela Marsh. 1848. 12mo. pp. 144.

3. *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave.* Written by Himself. Boston: Published at the Antislavery Office. 1847. 12mo. pp. 110.

4. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave.* Written by Himself. Boston: Published at the Antislavery Office. 1845. 12mo. pp. 125.

5. *The Life of Josiah Henson, formerly a Slave, now an Inhabitant of Canada, as narrated by Himself.* Boston: Arthur D. Phelps. 1849. 16mo. pp. 76.

without hesitation among the most remarkable productions of the age,—remarkable as being pictures of slavery by the slave, remarkable as disclosing under a new light the mixed elements of American civilization, and not less remarkable as a vivid exhibition of the force and working of the native love of freedom in the individual mind.

There are those who fear lest the elements of poetry and romance should fade out of the tame and monotonous social life of modern times. There is no danger of it while there are any slaves left to seek for freedom, and to tell the story of their efforts to obtain it. There is that in the lives of men who have sufficient force of mind and heart to enable them to struggle up from hopeless bondage to the position of freemen, beside which the ordinary characters of romance are dull and tame. They encounter a whole Iliad of woes, not in plundering and enslaving others, but in recovering for themselves those rights of which they have been deprived from birth. Or if the Iliad should be thought not to present a parallel case, we know not where one who wished to write a modern Odyssey could find a better subject than in the adventures of a fugitive slave. What a combination of qualities and deeds and sufferings most fitted to attract human sympathy in each particular case !

A man born and bred a slave becomes so possessed by the idea of liberty, that neither fear, nor the habit of obedience, nor the hopelessness of deliverance, can stifle the irrepressible desire to be free. It grows, silently, — for he dares not utter it even to his companions, — year by year, until at length, whatever the consequences, he must obey this secret, ever-urging instinct of his soul. He has heard that far to the North there is a region where, could he but reach it, he would be free. He cannot read, he dares not ask questions, but he treasures up every floating hint as to the direction ; he hoards up the chance money he receives, for the needs of the journey which is never out of his thoughts ; as the time approaches, he hesitates on the brink of his dread enterprise, for he hears of the failure of others who have made similar attempts, and the penalties of failure are worse than death. But the unslumbering passion will not let him rest. His mind is beyond the reach of the overseer's whip, and dreams of freedom through the day in the field, and through the night in his cabin. At length he resolves to make the attempt. He starts at midnight on his perilous journey, with

no guide but the northern star. He cannot travel by day, and at night hardly ventures to enter the frequented roads. Every human being is a foe. The earth itself, retaining the print of his flying feet, like a treacherous enemy, may betray him. Behold him through dreary leagues threading the canebrake and the forest, startled at every sound lest a bloodhound should be on his track, an unknown distance before him, and the perils of a worse slavery than he has yet experienced behind. Haggard with hunger, worn out with travel, he still presses on for days, and sometimes for weeks, before he reaches the boundary which separates him from freedom. And when he has crossed it, he hardly dares to believe himself safe. He fears the sight of man. He is afraid to stop, till he has put the breadth of States between himself and bondage.

A few years after, and this same man may very likely be seen in a home of his own, gaining by his industry a comfortable subsistence, rearing his children in ways of intelligence and independence, and himself, with every year, becoming more and more of a man. Whatever may be thought of slavery, here is one who cannot fail to have our highest and warmest sympathy. The slaveholder himself will acknowledge that this man has vindicated his right to freedom.\*

One of the many unanswerable arguments which show how unfounded the assertion is that the blacks are naturally incompetent to bear the responsibilities of freedom, is derived from the fact, that in so many of them there exists this intense longing to possess it, — a sense of its value which all the appliances of slavery have not been able to crush out. Most men at the North have seen numbers of fugitive slaves. In a single town of New England with which we are acquainted, there are more than two hundred, and there cannot be less than thousands scattered through the different cities and villages; and they constitute, to say the least, as orderly, intelligent, and useful a portion of the population as the great body of foreign immigrants.

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\* The heroism of the world finds its truest response in the heart of youth. There is nothing which better illustrates the point of which we have been speaking above, than the fact, that, in the declamations and exhibitions of schoolboys, the freedom and the wrongs of Greece and Poland and Ireland are almost superseded by those of the Southern slaves. Nothing seems to have such power as descriptions of their condition to set into a flame the minds of the young. If this shows nothing else, it shows that the slave who endeavours to recover his freedom is associating with himself no small part of the romance of the time.

These biographies of fugitive slaves are calculated to exert a very wide influence on public opinion. We have always been familiar with slavery, as seen from the side of the master. These narratives show how it looks as seen from the side of the slave. They contain the *victim's* account of the working of this great institution. When one escapes from the South, and finds an opportunity of speaking and has the power to speak, it is certain that he will have attentive listeners. Not only curiosity, but a sense of justice, predisposes men to hear the testimony given by those who have suffered, and who have had few among their own number to describe their sufferings. The extent of the influence such lives must exert may be judged of, when we learn the immense circulation which has been secured for them. Of Brown's Narrative, first published in 1847, not less than eight thousand copies have been already sold. Douglass's Life, first published in 1845, has in this country alone passed through seven editions, and is, we are told, now out of print. They are scattered over the whole of the North, and all theoretical arguments for or against slavery are feeble, compared with these accounts by living men of what they personally endured when under its dominion.

These narratives are for many reasons worthy of attention. The statements they contain may be partial and prejudiced, but are not likely to be more so than are the estimates formed of slavery by those who profit from its continuance. At any rate, in forming a just judgment of this institution, it is quite as important to know what it is to Henson the slave, as what it is to McDuffie the master.

These narratives, however, do not give a full and complete view of the whole subject. There is one point of great moment, which they tend to make us forget, instead of bringing it forward into the light. We refer to the position of the antislavery men of the South. These books give the impression that the Slave States constitute one vast prison-house, of which all the whites without exception are the mere keepers, with no interest in the slaves further than they can be made subservient to the pleasure or profit of their owners. But this is far from being the case. It may not be, certainly it is not, a common feeling, but there is nowhere a more settled and bitter detestation of slavery than is sometimes met with at the South. And, strange as it may seem, so entangled is the whole subject, so complicated are the

relations and powers of the several States and of the Union,\* that, though the slave may find the most sympathy personally at the North, our main hope of the abolition of slavery as an institution depends on the efforts of the enemies of slavery at the South.

It is not our purpose to enter into any general discussion of this subject, but the position of the Southern friends of freedom is so little understood among us, or at any rate so little regarded, that we feel inclined to say a word in explanation of it.

Whatever ought to be done, it is, humanly speaking, certain that slavery will not be abolished throughout the whole South on one single day, or by one single act. If abolished at all, it will be first in the line of Slave States which borders upon the Free.

By whom is this work to be done? A general answer is, that its accomplishment will demand the exertions of all friends of freedom throughout the country. Any efforts made in opposition to slavery in a Christian spirit are likely to be useful, and none such can be made which will not be needed. This immense mass of evil will not be heaved from the bosom of the land, except by the strenuous exertions of all who see that it is an evil. But if the question, By whom is the work to be done? is answered more particularly, it becomes obvious that the burden and heat of the day is not to be borne by "gentlemen at ease" who make speeches in Faneuil Hall or the Tabernacle, nor by the members of our antislavery societies, nor by any persons at the North. They may contribute more or less of aid, but the work is to be done, the sacrifices to be made, the battle to be fought, by those whose homes are in the Slave States. If slavery is to be removed, it must be, at the final stage, through legislative action in those States, and over this the inhabitants of other States can have only a slight and an indirect influence.

In the Slave States there are two classes of men, approaching each other by insensible degrees, until they are blended together. The first class is composed of those who care nothing for slavery or freedom, but only for the advantages which they imagine may accrue to themselves personally from the present state of things. The other class embraces those who see that slavery is a pernicious institution, injurious to the higher interests of all who are affected by it, and who would gladly be rid of it.

• Persons of the latter class desire its removal from different considerations ; — some, because it interferes with the education of the young ; some, because it paralyzes the prosperity of the State ; some, because it throws discredit on industry ; some, because of political, and some, for economical reasons ; some, because it violates their sense of justice ; some, because it is inconsistent with their religious principles ; and some, for all these reasons united. In fact, they who come to dislike slavery for one of these reasons generally become, in the end, opposed to it for all. It is an institution which does not bear discussion ; and he who has gone so far as to acknowledge its mischievousness in one point will, before long, go much farther.

Many of this class are at the present moment slaveholders, — for, strange as it may seem, there is nowhere a more bitter prejudice against abolition than among the poorer class of Southern whites, who imagine, that, if the black is emancipated, he will be raised to their level, or that they shall sink to his. Among the friends of freedom, most of them have grown up in the midst of slavery, and do not have the same moral feeling respecting it which is common at the North. They see that, where masters are kind and considerate, slavery has many alleviations. It is not all evil. They feel, too, as we do not, the obstacles in the way of its removal. But still they see that it is an evil. Their judgment is against it. They are the party on the side of freedom.

Beyond all comparison, these men occupy the most important antislavery position in the country. They are the only Abolitionists, though they themselves abhor the name, who can exert any decisive influence on the subject. All that others can do to any purpose must be done through them. Remove them from the Slave States and the abolition of slavery is deferred indefinitely. Without their hearty coöperation, all that can be done in the Free States is like reasoning against the wind.

Under even the most favorable circumstances, they have to contend against an immense dead-weight of ignorance, interest, and social prejudice. The only way in which they can accomplish anything is by leading their neighbours to think as they themselves do of slavery. It is a slow process at the best, but the only one. And this they are doing, with different degrees of earnestness and good faith, through the various channels by which one mind reaches another.

But the moment they think of the actual abolition of slavery, they feel themselves embarrassed by difficulties of the most formidable character. Even if public opinion should be with them, it is a matter of the greatest practical difficulty to decide on the manner in which such a complete revolution of the social elements shall be brought about. The great mass of whites and blacks are alike unprepared for freedom, have both grown up under the influences of slave institutions, and there is not any method of making such fundamental changes in the very constitution of society which does not involve perils and immediate evils from which a thinking man may not reasonably recoil. Beside the question of manner comes up also the question of time ; and both these questions are now widely discussed through all the frontier States, and both will have to be settled before any action takes place.

How, then, are we to regard the friends of freedom at the South ? For ourselves, we look upon them with the profoundest interest and sympathy. They compose the only class of antislavery men whose existence is absolutely vital and essential to freedom. Freedom can dispense with the efforts of others, but not with theirs.

It seems to us that the action of the Free States ought to be determined very much with a reference to its bearing on this class. Whatever can increase its numbers, or help or encourage them to more strenuous exertions, is to be done, and whatever hinders them to be avoided.

They are aided by the existence of a general antislavery feeling at the North. It serves to concentrate attention on the subject, both among the friends and foes of freedom. They gain strength from having the expressed moral judgment of the world on their side. They are aided by whatever brings before them the facts that relate to the case, and by all just and discriminating presentations of the political, economical, social, or moral bearings of slavery. They cannot fail in the end to be aided by all honest efforts on the part of the North, within constitutional limits, to maintain the rights of freedom. A just feeling on the subject at the North is important, because of the increasing intercourse between different parts of the country, by means of which new ideas and convictions are so rapidly spread over the whole land.

In this connection the influence of those who, from a dis-



like of slavery, have removed from the South to the Free States, is specially important. Great numbers of these are in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and in the newly opened regions of the Northwest. In their new homes, loyalty to the region of their birth, with which they are still connected by family ties and connections, and a sense of the frequent injustice done to slaveholders, may often cause them to defend slavery, and they may thus appear to be on the pro-slavery side.

But it is only in seeming. They are, though it may be unintentionally, among the most efficient propagators of anti-slavery ideas. They are perpetually returning to visit their friends, and, however they may appear at the North, standing again on a slave soil, they dislike the institution of slavery as much as ever. But notwithstanding this dislike, they have personal sympathies with slaveholders which secure their being listened to. They are able to speak, from a practical knowledge of both sides, of the advantages of freedom. Even their old prejudices against the blacks, by creating a common ground on which to stand, make their judgment more influential with their friends. Those at the South who wish to perpetuate slavery foolishly attempt to exclude Northern Abolitionists. Their greatest danger comes from another quarter. Were they alive to it, they would exclude by a Chinese wall, would forbid to return under the severest penalties, all their own kindred who have emigrated to a Free State.

On the other hand, those in the Slave States who are desirous of the abolition of slavery are not helped by Northern abuse. All loose, indiscriminating denunciations, all that rhetorical reviling which endeavours to make a bad and restless temper pass for righteous indignation, all those careless judgments which show either ignorance or disregard of facts, interfere with their efforts. They have to defend themselves alike against the ignorance and misjudgment of North and South. And such is the natural weakness of man, that many draw from these misjudgments an excuse for doing nothing. When they find that they are classed among men-stealers and murderers, and that the least sympathy and the bitterest denunciations come from those who profess to be the friends of the slave, but on whom none of the sacrifices of freedom are to fall, they recoil from any seeming companionship with them, and easily acquire a distaste for a cause which subjects them to such undeserved abuse.

We would not on this account have any honest and wise endeavours to promote abolition cease at the North ; we would far rather they should be increased ; but it seems to us that, in whatever is done, this class in the Slave States, which we have been describing, should be kept in mind, and that, for their sake, if for no other reason, all censorious, loose, and violent treatment of the subject should be avoided. It becomes the North, at all times and at all hazards, to be faithful to freedom ; but in doing this, it should remember the real position of the South. There is needed in this great work, not only zeal and firmness, but information, justice, kindness, truth ; and, so far as the action of the North is concerned, what is most to be dreaded will come from haste, intolerance, self-conceit, political ambition, and a philanthropy which goes far enough to be indignant, but which will not take the trouble to be just.

One of the questionable things — whether it has or has not compensating advantages we do not pretend to say — about the Free Soil party, as a party, is, we fear, its tendency to cripple the efforts of the friends of freedom in the Slave States. We have no doubt that Southern emancipationists are aided and strengthened by all discussions at the North which show the evil of extending slavery over soil now free. There are multitudes at the South who are ready to respond to all arguments for keeping those territories free, which, as yet, are not cursed by the presence of slavery. But an organized Northern party which, as such, bands itself against the South, — and especially if it become a mere political party managed by, and for the benefit of, political leaders who have given in their past lives no special pledges of regard for freedom, — must have a very different result. It arrays section against section, the North against the South, and the Southern man who is opposed to slavery feels compelled, by all those social instincts which are more powerful than our reasonings, to unite with his neighbours against what seems to them all the organized aggression of strangers.

Of the narratives at the head of this article, the first four possess no especial interest beyond what must belong to the life of almost any fugitive slave. They are records of degradation on the part of both blacks and whites, — of suffering and wrong and moral corruption. They give, doubtless, a just idea of what slavery is to the slave. But, on the other hand, while we have no reason to question the truth of par-

ticular facts respecting individuals, we have no doubt that they convey an altogether erroneous idea of the general character of the masters. The best qualities of the master are likely to appear anywhere rather than in his connection with the slave. And except it be an easy kindness, the slave is in no position to estimate aright the virtues of one who, towards himself, appears simply as a power whom he cannot resist. They stand in such utterly false relations to each other, that their whole intercourse must necessarily be vitiated, and the worst qualities of each, and these almost exclusively, must be perpetually forced on the attention of the other. But human society could not long exist were the great body of slaveholders like those whom these narratives describe.

Besides, as a matter of fact, the people of the South do not differ essentially from the people of other regions. There is among them every variety of character. There are many masters who devote themselves to what they conceive to be the welfare of their slaves,—who see and feel the enormity of the evil involved in slavery,—who strive, in their particular case, to make it as light as may be,—who regard their slaves as but a part of their family, of which they are the head, and for the welfare of the members of which they are responsible. There are many women whose lives are consecrated most laboriously to the comfort of these wretched dependents on their care. There are many persons with a native sense of justice and a spirit of kindness sufficient to overcome all the opposing influences of their position. Such are the families which the Northern traveller will commonly see ; for the same spirit which makes them kind to the slave makes them hospitable to the stranger. There is about the home of such a family a general air of comfort and order and quiet, which almost hides the evils of slavery. But it only hides ; except partially in the individual case, it does not remove them. It is like the rich vegetation of the tropics, where to the eye nothing is visible but verdure and flowers, while below is the swamp from which steam up unceasingly miasma, pestilence, and death.

But though there are frequent exceptions of this higher character, the great body of slaveholders is made up, like the men of all countries, of those who are coarse-minded, without culture, and thoughtful of little but their personal interests. And it must be remembered that the slave is the victim of the

worst qualities of these men. The slaveholder is restrained from exhibiting his worst passions in his intercourse with his white neighbours ; but this external restraint on his cupidity, his lust, his irritable or domineering temper, in great measure ceases to exist in his intercourse with the slave.

These narratives, without any such intention on the part of the writers, reveal incidentally, but very vividly, some of the necessary evils of this mournful institution. The white children, in great part, grow up uneducated ; for schools cannot be sustained in the country by the scattered population which alone slavery allows. In early years, they are exposed to acquiring the habit of indulging the domineering and selfish passions towards those weaker than themselves. Great numbers of men, ashamed to work, spend much of their time in gambling and horse-racing, and in unending talks about street-fights and party politics. The profits of their plantations depend on the large amount of work which they can extract from the slave, and on the small amount of food and clothing on which he can be made to live. Thus, without those checks which exist between the free laborer and his employer, there is a perpetual temptation to harshness and cruelty ; and there never yet was a continuous influence of this kind brought to bear on a man, which did not finally reveal itself in the character. In addition to this, so far as the white males are concerned, there is another evil which can never be passed over when slavery is spoken of, — the temptation to licentiousness. The word *marriage* among the slaves has no legal, and scarcely a moral meaning. And the result of their relations with the whites is seen written ineffaceably in the variable color of the slave population. The horror of amalgamation at the South must be a qualified one. There is far less of it than at the North. A single fact is sufficient to answer all opposing arguments or assertions. In passing through the streets of New Orleans, among the first ten children you meet, there will probably be five different colors. At the South the prejudice is not against color, but against the blacks ceasing to be a servile class.

In reading these narratives, we are forcibly struck with the peculiar hardships to which the female slave is subjected. All that should in a civilized land be her protection makes her lot doubly accursed. She suffers all that the male suffers, and in addition miseries peculiar to herself. Her condition is hopeless. There are few females who, even if

they could resolve to leave their children behind them, can ever hope to escape from bondage. The bearing of children, except for a very brief period, does not exempt them from labor in the fields, and this under the perpetual terror of the overseer's lash. If they possess any attractiveness of person, they are too often exposed to the danger of becoming doubly victims, first, to the corrupting urgencies of the white males around them, and then to the jealous dislike of the females. And in addition to all, the children whom they have borne in misery are liable to be taken from them, and sold away from their knowledge into hopeless bondage. Doubtless these evils do not appear on every plantation; but exposure to them is incident to slavery, is a part of the institution, and cannot be separated from it. And these narratives show how easily exposure passes into horrible reality.

In reading these little volumes, there is another evil of American slavery whose horrors are constantly brought before the mind. We refer to the internal slave trade. If we leave out of view the physical horrors of the Middle Passage, we believe that this internal slave trade is a system more accursed, more deserving of execration, the cause of more suffering, than the direct trade from Africa. It is a horrible phantom, making miserable the whole slave population of the South. They who are never made the victims of this traffic, who live and die on the same plantation, know that, at any moment, — sometimes from the selfishness of avaricious masters, sometimes from the misfortunes or death of the kind-hearted, — they are liable to be sold to the slave-dealer who will bid highest, and sent to some other region, under circumstances which, to their ignorant imaginations, seem worse than the reality proves. When added to all other deprivations and sufferings, this horrible fear, weighing incessantly on the thoughts of millions of men and women, is itself an evil of terrible magnitude.

But a still more important consideration is to be kept in mind. The blacks of the South are no longer such as their fathers were when brought from the shores of Africa. They have ceased to be savages. In its worse or better forms, all of them have caught some tincture of civilization. The better class of slaves are more civilized, have less of the brutal about them, than the lower class of whites. With increasing civilization, there is a development of the affections, of the

moral sensibilities, and of that forethought also which makes men more apprehensive of future evil. They have learned to place the same estimate on kindred and domestic bonds as their masters ; and they have intelligence enough to understand the nature of those advantages which they never must look on except as blessings from whose enjoyment they are to be for ever excluded. The very improvement, which is sometimes put forward as one of the compensations of their lot, has made them sensitive to forms of suffering from which their forefathers were protected by their more brutal condition. The cuffle of slaves torn from their families, which the slave-driver conducts by slow and weary stages from Virginia to the sugar-houses of the South, is, to the eye of reason, a more mournful spectacle than the barracoons on the coast of Africa. The wretched beings subjected to this doom are not less dragged away from all to which they are most attached, and carried, powerless victims, to a region and a fate which they most of all dread, but they are capable of a more clinging and paralyzing fear, and feel with infinitely more keenness everything that tears and wounds the affections. Every truth of religion which has dawned on their minds, every domestic bond they have learned to value, every idea and sentiment of a better kind which they have insensibly derived from intercourse with a better instructed race around them, only makes them more sensitive to the lot to which they are doomed. Common humanity demands that, if this traffic — “without mercy and without natural affection” — is to go on, the slaves should be kept as near the condition of brutes as possible. Ignorance, brutality, and callousness to every claim of the affections, if suffering only is to be thought of, constitute a boon for the slave, by putting him into a state of moral insensibility, scarcely less blessed than the state induced by that mediocr discovery of the present time which promises so to alleviate the physical pains of man.

Is there exaggeration in this ? We wish we could believe there was ; but there is not. A perpetual fear haunts the slaves, as the fear of ghosts haunts superstitious children, with the mournful difference that the slaves' apprehensions are well founded. This dread of being torn from their families, of being sold to they know not whom, and of being sent to the cotton and sugar plantations of the Southwest, is seen running through and giving a dark coloring to all the

narratives before us. In fact, the slaves are not merely liable to be thus sold, but the threat of it serves as an instrument of the police to make them submissive and industrious. It is held up constantly as a punishment for the refractory and disobedient ; and that it may be more effective, every circumstance which can make it alarming to the slave's imagination is kept before him. But in trying to avoid this peril, it does not do for him to show too many of the qualities of a self-supporting manhood. The slave's path is a Mahomet's bridge. His virtues may be as dangerous to himself as his vices. If a slave is restless, intelligent, and enterprising, the master is tempted to sell him to the South, lest he should escape to freedom and the North. And no matter what the master's feelings or wishes, if he becomes poor, or dies, his slaves are always exposed, even if they be not actually subjected, to this doom.

The narrative of Douglass contains the life of a superior man. Since his escape from slavery, he has been employed as an antislavery lecturer, and is now the editor of a newspaper in Rochester, N. Y. He does not belong to the class, always small, of those who bring to light great principles, or who originate new methods of carrying them out. He has, however, the vividness of sensibility and of thought which we are accustomed to associate with a Southern climate. He has a natural and ready eloquence, a delicacy of taste, a quick perception of proprieties, a quick apprehension of ideas, and a felicity of expression, which are possessed by few among the more cultivated, and which are surprising when we consider that it is but a few years since he was a slave. In any popular assembly met for the discussion of subjects with which he has had the opportunity to become familiar, he is a man to command and hold attention. He is a natural orator, and his original endowments and the peculiarity of his position have given him a high place among antislavery speakers.

But while our sympathies go strongly with him, and because they go with him, we are disposed to make a criticism on a mode of address in which he sometimes indulges himself, which we believe is likely to diminish, not only his usefulness, but his real influence. We would not detract from his merits, and we can easily excuse in him a severity of judgment and a one-sidedness of view which might be inexcusable in another. We can hardly condemn one who

has been a slave for seeing only the evils of slavery, and for thinking lightly of the difficulty of remedying them ; but we have wished, when we have heard him speak, or read what he has written, that he might wholly avoid a fault from which a natural magnanimity does something towards saving him, but to which he is nevertheless exposed. His associates at the North have been among those who are apt to mistake violence and extravagance of expression and denunciation for eloquence ; — men who, whatever their virtues otherwise, are not in the habit of using discrimination in their judgments of men or of measures which they do not approve. To him they have doubtless been true and faithful friends, and he naturally adopts their style of speech. But it is a mistaken one, if the speaker wishes to sway the judgment of his hearers and to accomplish any practical end. No matter what the vehemence of tone or expression, whenever a public speaker indulges himself in violent and unqualified statements and in sweeping denunciations, he not only makes it apparent that he is deficient in a sound and fair judgment, but what is worse, he creates in his hearers a secret distrust of his real earnestness, — a vague feeling that after all he is thinking more of his speech than of the end for which he professes to make it. When men are profoundly in earnest, they are not apt to be extravagant. The more earnest, the more rigidly true. A merchant, in discussing the politics of the day, about which he knows or cares little, freely indulges in loose, extravagant, and violent declarations. But follow him to his counting-room ; let him be making inquiries or giving directions about some enterprise which he really has deeply at heart, and the extravagance is gone. Nothing will answer here but truth, and the exact truth. His earnestness makes him calm. It is seen in the moderated accuracy, as well as in the decision and strength, of his statements. Extravagance and passion and rhetorical flourishes might do when nothing which he greatly valued was at stake ; but here is something too serious for trifling. Just so it is in other cases. A flippant, extravagant speaker, especially if he be gifted with the power of sarcasm, will probably be listened to and applauded, but nothing comes of it. They who applaud the most understand very well that this is not the kind of person whose judgment is to be relied on as a guide in action. His words are listened to with much the same sort of interest that is given



to the personated passion of the theatre. A few sober words from a calm, wise, discriminating mind are, after all, the ones which are followed. Nothing is less effective, for any practical end, than the "withering and scorching" eloquence with which American speeches seem so to abound. It conciliates no opponent, and though it may light up the momentary passions, it gives no new strength of conviction to the friends of a cause. It is the last kind of eloquence to be cultivated by those who are heartily in earnest in their desire to promote any great reform.

We by no means think that these remarks apply peculiarly to Douglass. We make them, however, because we think that, more often than he is probably aware, he suffers himself to fall into this mode of speech. He has such ability to appeal to the higher and more generous sentiments, and such appeals do so much to win over enemies and to strengthen friends, he has such personal knowledge of slavery, and is so competent to make all he says effective, through candor and a just appreciation of the difficulties that beset the subject of emancipation, and is withal so much of a man, that we regret any mistake of judgment which tends to diminish his power as an advocate of the antislavery cause.\*

While upon this topic, we will take advantage of the opportunity to express our regret that there are so many who consider Mr. Clay a fitting subject of abuse. We have no doubt that their denunciations of this eminent statesman are very sincere, but it is a mournful fact that they can be sincere. In most cases it is hardly possible to retain confidence in the good faith of those who profess to desire the abolition of slavery, and who yet attack Mr. Clay with unmeasured virulence because of his recent letter on emancipation.

If slavery is done away at all, it must be, as we have al-

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\* We have hesitated about making these remarks; and now, on reading them over, the sympathy which his narrative excites, and our respect for the force of character he has shown in rising from the depths of bondage to be the equal associate of those who have possessed every opportunity of cultivation and refinement, almost make us erase what we have written. We would avoid giving pain to one who has suffered all that we should most dread for ourselves, and who has risen above obstacles by which we should probably have been crushed. But still, whatever the past has been, he is now free. By his indisputable deserts, he has secured for himself an influential position. The course which he takes is important to others beside himself. Should he read this criticism, we hope that the internal evidence will be sufficient to show that it is written by one who rejoices in his usefulness. And in the faith that he may so read it, and that its suggestions may not be without value, we allow it to stand.

ready remarked, by the inhabitants of the Slave States. At present, nothing seems so desirable as that Kentucky should take a decided step towards emancipation. The question has been very much agitated, as is well known, for years past, in that Commonwealth. But emancipation has met with such vehement opposition from its enemies and such lukewarm support from its friends, that, a few months ago, the leading men of the State who are in favor of it thought the matter so hopeless, that, discouraged and paralyzed, they were on the point of abandoning all efforts to that end. They had almost given up the idea of making it one of the subjects to be discussed before the people in the election of delegates to the convention recently called for the revision of the constitution. It is a mistake to suppose that the support given to slavery by that instrument was the only, or in the minds of most the principal, cause why a revision was needed. And the chance of effecting anything on this point had become so slight, that many thought it best that it should not even be brought forward. A week before Mr. Clay's letter was written, the legislature voted unanimously that it was inexpedient and in bad faith to bring it either before the people in the election of delegates, or before the convention when it should have assembled. At this time and under these circumstances Mr. Clay's letter appeared. Whether we agree or not with him as to method or time, and we certainly do not agree with him in regard to either, he does what alone is at the present moment important, — he takes his stand decidedly, and throws his great influence on the side of emancipation. His letter was addressed to Kentuckians, — not to abolitionists, — to enlist those who are slaveholders on the side of freedom. A more masterly letter for the purpose — fitted to win over enemies and to encourage friends — could hardly have been written. It instantly revived the drooping courage of the antislavery party. It gave such importance to their measures, that it has lighted up the State with new discussions of the subject. Instead of the despair which had settled on the hearts of the emancipationists a few months ago, there is now resolution and confidence. It is by no means certain what may be done, but there is at least a fair chance that some decisive steps will be taken for the removal of slavery.

While we should be utterly opposed to his particular scheme of emancipation, we cannot fail to see that Mr.

Clay has nobly identified himself with the great interests of humanity. At this moment he is doing incomparably more for freedom than any living man, — and we believe more than all the antislavery men of the North united. The appetite for calumny and denunciation must be ravenous and insatiate, which can lead those who profess to wish well to the cause of freedom to attack Mr. Clay. What has he done? He has joined the party of freedom, or rather has come out to express in his old age the sentiments of his youth and his manhood. He has done it at the cost of drawing on himself the bitter denunciations both of the South and the North. He has proposed the best scheme for emancipation which, under the circumstances, he thought could be framed. It may not be the best possible, nor the one he would himself choose were the field open for a free choice; but it is the only one which in his judgment could secure the coöperation of a majority of the citizens of Kentucky. The plan, however, is only incidental and of secondary importance, and to be decided upon by a convention, whose members are not yet even elected. What only is essential, he has thrown himself without reserve or qualification into the ranks of those who are fighting for freedom. And we say, God speed him, and those engaged in the same good cause.

There are many passages in the narrative of Douglass which we should be pleased to quote, but it has been so long published and so widely circulated, that many of our readers have probably seen it. We would only say, in conclusion, that we feel a deep interest in his career. He is one of the living evidences that there is in the colored population of the South no natural incapacity for the enjoyment of freedom; and he occupies a position and possesses abilities which enable him, if he pursues a wise course, to be a most useful laborer in the cause of human rights.

The life of Henson has but just been published, and he has shown himself to be so remarkable a man, that we propose to give a more particular account of him. The narrative owes its existence to the interest which his judicious, far-seeing, and persevering efforts to improve the condition of the colored people who have found a home in Canada have excited in his behalf. It was written to his dictation by a gentleman of this city, who has done good service to humanity in preparing and publishing it. It is as simple,

straightforward, and to the point, as the character which it describes, and cannot be read without suggesting many subjects for profitable thought.

Henson is one of those who, in any situation, among his associates would be a marked and leading man. Though an effective speaker, he is not one of the popular declaimers ; he is a large-hearted, large-minded man, tolerant, calm, benevolent, and wise. He has not only shown himself to be competent to understand and portray the evils of slavery, but, what implies far higher qualities of mind and heart, that he possesses the wisdom to conceive, and the practical talent and energy to carry out, large and far-reaching schemes for the improvement of his brethren.

He was born in the year 1789, in Maryland, from which State he was transferred to Kentucky in 1825. He made no attempt to escape from bondage until, after having nearly paid for himself, he found that it was the purpose of his master to dispose of him at the South. The sense of wrong and of danger at length roused him to attempt what, probably, under other circumstances, he would not have thought of. He escaped with his family into Canada, in the year 1830. After a few years, his mind became deeply impressed with the wants and wretched condition of the colored people who, like himself, had escaped from slavery, and of whom at the present time not less than twenty thousand are within the Canadian borders. He determined to devote himself to their improvement. They were, for the most part, in extreme poverty, their children growing up in ignorance, generally hiring themselves out as servants and laborers, and a large proportion of them clinging to the larger towns, where, under the shadow of the whites, they could never be anything but an inferior and servile caste. His first object was to induce them to leave the large towns, to purchase wild land, and thus to become independent farmers. In pursuance of this scheme, he found means to secure a tract of land between Lakes Erie and St. Clair, where large numbers of the blacks have been led to establish themselves. He found their universal ignorance constantly in the way of all plans for their elevation, and his next step was to secure the means of education. For this purpose several schools were opened, the principal one of which is a manual-labor school, at Dawn. With little sympathy, he has been doing for the blacks of Canada what Horace Mann has so nobly done for the whites of Massachusetts. At the age of forty-two, he himself learned

to read ; and, amidst his other multiplied labors, he has been a regular preacher in the Methodist connection. He has had to contend with the extremest poverty ; for the fugitive slave brings with him nothing but his muscles and the unthrifty habits of slavery. And, more difficult still, he has had to secure the coöperation of the colored race, accustomed to look no farther than the present day, in schemes whose full fruits cannot appear till generations have lived and died. But in spite of every obstacle, he seems likely to accomplish all his plans. He bids fair to be ranked as the Moses of the regenerated Africans in Canada. He is trying an experiment on which every philanthropist must look with profound interest, and which will help, at the least, to show how far emancipated slaves are capable of taking care of themselves.

We make no apology for giving long extracts from this narrative. We believe it to be the best picture of the evils incident to slave life on the plantations which can be found. Those who know Henson will not doubt his statements of facts ; and there is a freedom from exaggeration, a tolerance of judgment, and an absence of personal bitterness, which give additional weight to his testimony. He does not represent all the whites in the Slave States as demons ; but they appear in his narrative such as they are in reality, — human beings with the average virtues and vices of mankind, but their characters modified by the institutions under which they live. Among the whites he had kind friends, — he knew those who were opposed to slavery ; even those among his several masters who, in particular cases, treated him the worst, he looks back upon with kindness. He sees that the masters, in their worst vices, are hardly less the victims of this disastrous institution than are the slaves in their degradation. There is no disposition to nurse his indignation against the wrongs he has received, or to bring them forward as a complete picture of slavery. With his abhorrence of the institution is blended commiseration for all classes, black and white, who live under it. Whether he is right or wrong, others can judge as well as we ; but this tolerant and kindly feeling — which appears constantly in his book, but which has been especially remarked by every one who has had any private intercourse with him — gives a peculiar air of trustworthiness to what he says. And we must add, that the qualities of character which he shows by no means make us more in love with an institution to which such a man

may become a victim. We might draw from his life abundant illustrations of all the evils which we have referred to in the preceding part of this article as naturally resulting from slavery, and in our extracts we shall keep these points in view.

The earliest memory of Henson's childhood was sufficiently horrible. It was the appearance of his father one day, in a state of the greatest excitement, with his head bloody and his back lacerated. He had been suffering the penalty of the Maryland law for beating a white man. His right ear had been cut off, and he had received a hundred lashes on his back. He had beaten the overseer for a brutal assault on his wife ; — such was the crime and such the punishment. Before this he had shown an amiable temper, but he now became morose, moody, and intractable ; so much so, that his master sent him to Alabama, and neither Henson nor his mother ever heard of him again.

His mother had been hired out to the owner of his father, and after this event she was taken back to her owner, who is described as a man of good natural impulses, kind-hearted, liberal, jovial, benevolent, and one who never allowed a slave to be struck. Henson represents himself as having been treated as a pet by him ; and with him his mother, with three girls and three boys, lived for several years in comparative comfort.

The death of this man, however, brought about a revolution in their condition, which, he says, “ common as such things are in slave countries, can never be imagined by those not subject to them, nor recollected by those who have been, without emotions of grief and indignation deep and ineffaceable.”

“ In consequence of his decease, it became necessary to sell the estate and the slaves, in order to divide the property among the heirs ; and we were all put up at auction, and sold to the highest bidder, and scattered over various parts of the country. My brothers and sisters were bid off one by one, while my mother, holding my hand, looked on in an agony of grief, the cause of which I but ill understood at first, but which dawned on my mind with dreadful clearness as the sale proceeded. My mother was then separated from me, and put up in her turn. She was bought by a man named Isaac R., residing in Montgomery county, and then I was offered to the assembled purchasers. My mother, half distracted with the parting for ever from all her children,

pushed through the crowd while the bidding for me was going on, to the spot where R. was standing. She fell at his feet, and clung to his knees, entreating him in tones that a mother only could command, to buy her *baby* as well as herself, and spare to her one of her little ones at least. Will it, can it be believed, that this man, thus appealed to, was capable, not merely of turning a deaf ear to her supplication, but of disengaging himself from her with such violent blows and kicks, as to reduce her to the necessity of creeping out of his reach, and mingling the groan of bodily suffering with the sob of a breaking heart? Yet this was one of my earliest observations of men; an experience which has been common to me with thousands of my race, the bitterness of which its frequency cannot diminish to any individual who suffers it, while it is dark enough to overshadow the whole after-life with something blacker than a funeral pall. I was bought by a stranger. Almost immediately, however, whether my childish strength, at five or six years of age, was overmastered by such scenes and experiences, or from some accidental cause, I fell sick, and seemed to my new master so little likely to recover, that he proposed to R., the purchaser of my mother, to take me too, at such a trifling rate that it could not be refused. I was thus providentially restored to my mother; and under her care, destitute as she was of the proper means of nursing me, I recovered my health, and grew up to be an uncommonly vigorous and healthy boy and man." — pp. 3–5.

We add the description of his new master; for the condition of the slave is determined by the character of the man whom he serves.

"The character of R., the master whom I faithfully served for many years, is by no means an uncommon one in any part of the world; but it is to be regretted that a domestic institution should anywhere put it in the power of such a one to tyrannize over his fellow-beings, and inflict so much needless misery as is sure to be produced by such a man in such a position. Coarse and vulgar in his habits, unprincipled and cruel in his general deportment, and especially addicted to the vice of licentiousness, his slaves had little opportunity for relaxation from wearying labor, were supplied with the scantiest means of sustaining their toil by necessary food, and had no security for personal rights. The natural tendency of slavery is to convert the master into a tyrant, and the slave into the cringing, treacherous, false, and thieving victim of tyranny. R. and his slaves were no exception to the general rule, but might be cited as apt illustrations of the nature of the case." — p. 5.

With this man he lived more than thirty years, subjected

to the varied hardships of the slave's lot, and in one case to a brutality of treatment the effects of which remain to this day. Henson, however, early showed a degree of capacity and fidelity, which finally made his services almost indispensable to his master. He became the superintendent of the plantation, and gradually the disposal of everything raised on it was confided to him. His master's habits of dissipation made him incompetent to attend properly to his own affairs, and a trust was reposed in Henson which enabled him to acquire a knowledge of business quite unusual among the blacks. Having begun to quote, we hardly know where to stop. The narrative is so condensed, and the varied events of a slave's life so simply and so admirably described, that it is with reluctance that we pass over the successive scenes without transferring them to our pages. But, compelled to limit our extracts, we prefer to omit those descriptions of personal suffering with which every account of slavery abounds.

We will, however, insert his account of his religious experiences, for we think it very suggestive. It shows the power of early religious impressions, and it shows also the adaptation of religious truth to the wants of the human mind. There has recently been published a work, entitled "The Christian Scholar," one part of which treats of "Classical Complaints and Scriptural Remedies." Its object is to show how the blind cravings of the human mind find a response in the Christian faith. The mournful darkness of a soul unvisited by revelation and the blessed light which a single truth may bring might be illustrated from the life of the slave Henson as well as from the history of Grecian sages, or that of the early converts to our religion. One of his earliest recollections was of being deeply impressed with what, he says, "I afterwards recognized as the deep piety and devotional feeling of my mother. I do not know how or when she acquired her knowledge of God, or her acquaintance with the Lord's prayer, which she so frequently repeated and taught me to repeat. I remember seeing her often on her knees, endeavouring to arrange her thoughts in prayers appropriate to her situation, but which amounted to little more than constant ejaculations, and the repetition of short phrases which were within my infant comprehension, and have remained in my memory to this hour." We give the account of the impression made by the first sermon he ever heard.



“Up to this period of my life, and I was then eighteen years old, I had never heard a sermon, nor any discourse or conversation whatever, upon religious topics, except what had been impressed upon me by my mother, of the responsibility of all to a Supreme Being. When I arrived at the place of meeting, the services were so far advanced that the speaker was just beginning his discourse, from the text, Hebrews ii. 9 : ‘That he, by the grace of God, should taste of death for every man.’ This was the first text of the Bible to which I had ever listened, knowing it to be such. I have never forgotten it, and scarce a day has passed since in which I have not recalled it, and the sermon that was preached from it. The divine character of Jesus Christ, his life and teachings, his sacrifice of himself for others, his death and resurrection, were all alluded to, and some of the points were dwelt upon with great power, — great, at least, to me, who heard of these things for the first time in my life. I was wonderfully impressed, too, with the use which the preacher made of the last words of the text, ‘*for every man.*’ He said the death of Christ was not designed for the benefit of a select few only, but for the salvation of the world, for the bond as well as the free ; and he dwelt on the glad tidings of the Gospel to the poor, the persecuted, and the distressed, its deliverance to the captive, and the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, till my heart burned within me, and I was in a state of the greatest excitement at the thought that such a being as Jesus Christ had been described to be should have died for me, — for *me* among the rest, a poor, despised, abused slave, who was thought by his fellow-creatures fit for nothing but unrequited toil and ignorance, for mental and bodily degradation. I immediately determined to find out something more about ‘Christ and him crucified’ ; and revolving the things which I had heard in my mind as I went home, I became so excited that I turned aside from the road into the woods, and prayed to God for light and for aid with an earnestness which, however unenlightened, was at least sincere and heartfelt ; and which the subsequent course of my life has led me to imagine might not have been unacceptable to Him who heareth prayer. At all events, I date my conversion and my awakening to a new life — a consciousness of superior powers and destiny to anything I had before conceived of — from this day, so memorable to me. I used every means and opportunity of inquiry into religious matters ; and so deep was my conviction of their superior importance to everything else, so clear my perception of my own faults, and so undoubting my observation of the darkness and sin that surrounded me, that I could not help talking much on these subjects with those about me ; and it was not long before I began to pray with them and exhort them, and to impart to the poor slaves those little glim-

merings of light from another world which had reached my own eye. In a few years I became quite an esteemed preacher among them, and I will not believe it is vanity which leads me to think I was useful to some." — pp. 11 – 13.

In the course of time Henson's master, by dissipation and lawsuits, had become embarrassed in his circumstances. In order to save something from his creditors, he determined to place his slaves where they could not be reached. At length, by various representations, by appeals to his good feelings, by threats of selling them all to the slave-dealers of the Southwestern markets, he succeeded in persuading Henson to take eighteen of them to a brother in Kentucky. The enterprise and the journey, through a country to him entirely unknown, by the way of Wheeling and the Ohio River to Montgomery county, is full of a romantic interest. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, he successfully accomplished what he had undertaken. We can only quote a paragraph showing the struggle in a conscientious mind between fidelity to his master and justice to the slave.

"In passing along the State of Ohio, we were frequently told that we were free, if we chose to be so. At Cincinnati, especially, the colored people gathered round us, and urged us with much importunity to remain with them; told us it was folly to go on; and, in short, used all the arguments now so familiar to induce slaves to quit their masters. My companions probably had little perception of the nature of the boon that was offered to them, and were willing to do just as I told them, without a wish to judge for themselves. Not so with me. From my earliest recollection, freedom had been the object of my ambition, a constant motive to exertion, an ever-present stimulus to gain and to save. No other means of obtaining it, however, had occurred to me but purchasing myself of my master. The idea of running away was not one that I had ever indulged. I had a sentiment of honor on the subject, or what I thought such, which I would not have violated even for freedom; and every cent which I had ever felt entitled to call my own had been treasured up for this great purpose, till I had accumulated between thirty and forty dollars. Now was offered to me an opportunity I had not anticipated. I might liberate my family, my companions, and myself, without the smallest risk, and without injustice to any individual, except one whom we had none of us any reason to love, who had been guilty of cruelty and oppression to us all for many years, and who had never shown the smallest symptom of sympathy with us, or with any one in our condition. But I need not make the

exception. There would have been no injustice to R. himself—it would have been a retribution which might be called righteous—if I had availed myself of the opportunity thus thrust suddenly upon me.

“But it was a punishment which it was not for me to inflict. I had promised that man to take his property to Kentucky, and deposit it with his brother; and this, and this only, I resolved to do. I left Cincinnati before night, though I had intended to remain there, and encamped with my entire party a few miles below the city. What advantages I may have lost by thus throwing away an opportunity of obtaining freedom, I know not; but the perception of my own strength of character, the feeling of integrity, the sentiment of high honor, I have experienced,—these advantages I do know, and prize; and would not lose them, nor the recollection of having attained them, for all that I can imagine to have resulted from an earlier release from bondage. I have often had painful doubts as to the propriety of my carrying so many other individuals into slavery again, and my consoling reflection has been, that I acted as I thought at the time was best.”— pp. 23 – 25.

We must omit all but a general account of his attempt to purchase his freedom. He had been for a considerable time a preacher in the Methodist connection. At the suggestion of a white Methodist minister, he obtained permission to revisit Maryland. On the way he passed through Ohio, and preached in various towns, on which occasions he also took up collections to a considerable amount. He might now have easily escaped from bondage, but his wife and children were in Kentucky, and the only method by which he could escape, and also secure their freedom, was by purchase. Through the aid of a white friend in Maryland, he succeeded in making his owner engage to liberate him on receiving 450 dollars. He immediately paid 350 dollars, and returned to Kentucky, hoping before long to obtain the remainder, for which he had given his note, and on the payment of which his manumission papers were to take effect, and he be a free man. But on his return, he found that his owner had contrived basely to cheat him, and that his manumission papers, which he still has in his possession, would, as he was situated, be of no avail. He was compelled to sit down silently under a fraud which he had not the means of effectually exposing. Before long he was threatened with a still greater wrong. For some reason, apparently growing out of the wants of the man who claimed to be his owner, it was

determined, though of course he was not at the time informed of the plan, to send him to the South to be sold. After several conversations about pecuniary difficulties, his master, professing to act under the orders of his brother in Maryland, told him that he "must get ready to go to New Orleans with his son Amos, a young man about twenty-one years of age, who was going down the river with a flat-boat, and was nearly ready to start; in fact he was to leave the next day, and I must go and take care of him, and help him dispose of the cargo."

"The intimation was enough. Though it was not distinctly stated, yet I well knew what was intended, and my heart sunk within me at the near prospect of this fatal blight to all my long-cherished hopes. There was no alternative but death itself; and I thought that there was hope as long as there was life, and I would not despair even yet. The expectation of my fate, however, produced the degree of misery nearest to that of despair; and it is in vain for me to attempt to describe the wretchedness I experienced as I made ready to go on board the flat-boat." — p. 38.

Our next quotation is a long one, but our readers will, we are sure, not object to its length. As it is, we omit the description of the voyage and the events following his return home, and retain only enough to reveal what may be passing in the mind of a slave.

"After the captain became blind, we were obliged to lie by at night, as none of the rest of us had been down the river before; and it was necessary to keep watch all night, to prevent depredations by the negroes on shore, who used frequently to attack such boats as ours, for the sake of the provisions on board. As I paced backwards and forwards on the deck, during my watch, it may well be believed I revolved many a painful and passionate thought. After all that I had done for Isaac and Amos R., after all the regard they professed for me, and the value they could not but put upon me, such a return as this for my services, such an evidence of their utter inattention to my claims upon them, and the intense selfishness with which they were ready to sacrifice me, at any moment, to their supposed interest, turned my blood to gall and wormwood, and changed me from a lively, and, I will say, a pleasant-tempered fellow, into a savage, morose, dangerous slave. I was going not at all as a lamb to the slaughter, but I felt myself becoming more ferocious every day; and as we approached the place where this iniquity was to be consummated, I became more and more agitated with an almost uncontrollable fury. I had met, on the

passage with some of my Maryland acquaintance who had been wrot off in this region: and their support and wanted appearance with a pressing want of excessive labor and insufficient food. I want to myself, "if this is to be my lot, I cannot survive it long. I am not so young as these men, and if I has brought them to such a condition, I will soon die here. I am to be taken by my masters and owners, who ought to be my powerful friends, to a place not a condition where my life is to be shortened, as well as made more wretched. Why should I not prevent this wrong, if I can, by shortening their lives, or those of their agents in so doing bring some overbearing justice? I can do it but easily enough. They have no suspicion of me, and they are at this moment under my control, and in my power. There are many ways in which I can destroy them and escape, and I feel that I should be just to myself by availing myself of the first good opportunity." These were the thoughts which just flitted across my mind's eye, and then disappeared. They fashioned themselves into shapes which grew larger, and seemed firmer, every time they presented themselves; and at length my mind was made up to convert the phantom shadow into a positive reality. I resolved to kill my four companions, take what money there was in the boat, then to scumble the craft, and escape to the North. It was a poor plan, may-be, and would very likely have failed; but it was as well contrived, under the circumstances, as the plans of murderers usually are; and blinded by passion, and stung to madness as I was, I could not see any difficulty about it. One dark, rainy night, within a few days of New Orleans, my hour seemed to have come. I was alone on the deck; Mr. Amos and the hands were all asleep below, and I crept down noiselessly, got hold of an axe, entered the cabin, and, looking by the aid of the dim light there for my victims, my eye fell upon Master Amos, who was nearest to me; my hand slid along the axe-handle, I raised it to strike the fatal blow,—when suddenly the thought came to me, 'What! commit murder! and you a Christian?' I had not called it murder before. It was self-defence,—it was preventing others from murdering me,—it was justifiable, it was even praiseworthy. But now, all at once, the truth burst upon me that it was a crime. I was going to kill a young man, who had done nothing to injure me, but obey commands which he could not resist; I was about to lose the fruit of all my efforts at self-improvement, the character I had acquired, and the peace of mind which had never deserted me. All this came upon me instantly, and with a distinctness which made me almost think I heard it whispered in my ear; and I believe I even turned my head to listen. I shrunk back, laid down the axe, crept up on deck again, and thanked God, as I have done every day since, that I had not committed murder.

"My feelings were still agitated, but they were changed. I was filled with shame and remorse for the design I had entertained, and with the fear that my companions would detect it in my face, or that a careless word would betray my guilty thoughts. I remained on deck all night, instead of rousing one of the men to relieve me, and nothing brought composure to my mind but the solemn resolution I then made to resign myself to the will of God, and take with thankfulness, if I could, but with submission, at all events, whatever he might decide should be my lot. I reflected, that, if my life were reduced to a brief term, I should have less to suffer, and that it was better to die with a Christian's hope, and a quiet conscience, than to live with the incessant recollection of a crime that would destroy the value of life, and under the weight of a secret that would crush out the satisfaction that might be expected from freedom and every other blessing.

"It was long before I recovered my self-control and serenity ; but I believe no one but those to whom I have told the story myself ever suspected me of having entertained such thoughts for a moment.

"In a few days after this tremendous crisis we arrived in New Orleans, and the little that remained of our cargo was soon sold, the men were discharged, and nothing was left but to dispose of me, and break up the boat, and then Mr. Amos would take passage on a steamboat, and go home. There was no longer any disguise about the purpose of selling me. Mr. Amos acknowledged that such were his instructions, and he set about fulfilling them. Several planters came to the boat to look at me ; and I was sent of some hasty errand, that they might see how I could run. My points were canvassed as those of a horse would have been ; and doubtless some account of my human faculties was thrown into the discussion of the bargain, that my value as a domestic animal might be enhanced. Amos had talked, with apparent kindness, about getting me a good master, who would employ me as a coachman, or as a house-servant ; but as time passed on I could discern no particular effort of the kind. At length everything was wound up but this single affair. The boat was to be sold, and I was to be sold, the next day, and Amos was to set off on his return at six o'clock in the afternoon. I could not sleep that night, which seemed long enough to me, though it was one of the shortest in the year. The slow way in which we had come down had brought us to the long days and the heat of June ; and everybody knows what the climate of New Orleans is at that time of the year.

"A little before daylight master Amos awoke indisposed. His stomach was disordered, but he lay down again, thinking it

would pass off. In a little while he was up again, and felt more sick than before, and it was soon evident that the river fever was upon him. He became rapidly worse, and by eight o'clock in the morning he was utterly prostrate; his head was on my lap, and he was begging me to help him, to do something for him, to save him. The tables were turned. He was now rather more dependent upon me than I had been upon him the day before. He entreated me to despatch matters, to sell the flat-boat, in which we two had been living by ourselves for some days, and to get him and his trunk, containing the proceeds of the trip, on board the steamer as quick as possible, and especially not to desert him so long as he lived, nor to suffer his body, if he died, to be thrown into the river. I attended to all his requests, and by twelve o'clock that day he was in one of the cabins of the steamer appropriated to sick passengers.

"All was done which could be done for the comfort and relief of any one in such a desperate condition. But he was reduced to extremity. He ceased to grow worse after a day or two, and he must speedily have died if he had not; but his strength was so entirely gone, that he could neither speak nor move a limb; and could only indicate his wish for a teaspoonful of gruel, or something to moisten his throat, by a feeble motion of his lips. I nursed him carefully and constantly. Nothing else could have saved his life. It hung by a thread for a long time. We were as much as twelve days in reaching home, for the water was low at that season, particularly in the Ohio River; and when we arrived at our landing he was still unable to speak, and could only be moved on a sheet, or a litter." — pp. 40–46.

This seemingly providential escape from hopeless bondage determined him at once, as soon as possible, to fly from slavery. It would have been easy for him alone to have freed himself, but he could not leave his wife and four young children behind.

"On the night of the following Saturday, I had decided to set out, as it would then be several days before I should be missed, and I should get a good start. Some time previously I had got my wife to make me a large knapsack, big enough to hold the two smallest children; and I had arranged it that she should lead the second boy, while the oldest was stout enough to go by himself, and to help me carry the necessary food. I used to pack the little ones on my back, of an evening, after I had got through my day's work, and trot round the cabin with them, and go some little distance from it, in order to accustom both them and myself to the task before us.

"At length the eventful night came. I went up to the house

to ask leave to take Tom home with me, that he might have his clothes mended. No objection was made, and I bade Master Amos 'Good night' for the last time. It was about the middle of September, and by nine o'clock in the evening all was ready. It was a dark, moonless night, and we got into the little skiff in which I had induced a fellow-slave to take us across the river. It was an agitating and solemn moment. The good fellow who was rowing us over said this affair might end in his death; 'but,' said he, 'you will not be brought back alive, will you?' 'Not if I can help it,' I answered. 'And if you are overpowered and return,' he asked, 'will you conceal my part of the business?' 'That I will, so help me God,' I replied. 'Then I am easy,' he answered, 'and wish you success.' We landed on the Indiana shore, and I began to feel that I was my own master. But in what circumstances of fear and misery still! We were to travel by night, and rest by day, in the woods and bushes. We were thrown absolutely upon our own poor and small resources, and were to rely on our own strength alone. The population was not so numerous as now, nor so well disposed to the slave. We dared look to no one for help. But my courage was equal to the occasion, and we trudged on cautiously and steadily, and as fast as the darkness, and the feebleness of my wife and boys, would allow.

"It was nearly a fortnight before we reached Cincinnati; and a day or two previous to getting there, our provisions were used up, and I had the misery to hear the cry of hunger and exhaustion from those I loved so dearly. It was necessary to run the risk of exposure by daylight upon the road; so I sprung upon it boldly from our hiding-place one morning, and turned towards the south, to prevent the suspicion of my going the other way. I approached the first house I saw, and asked if they would sell me a little bread and meat. No, they had nothing for black fellows. At the next I succeeded better, but had to make as good a bargain as I could, and that was not very successful, for a man who wanted to see how little he could give me for my quarter of a dollar. As soon as I had succeeded in making a purchase, I followed the road, still towards the south, till I got out of sight of the house, and then darted into the woods again, and returned northward, just out of sight of the road. The food which I bought, such as it was, put new life and strength into my wife and children when I got back to them again, and we at length arrived safe at Cincinnati." — pp. 49–52.

For his journey across Ohio, his escape to Canada, and for his subsequent career, we must refer our readers to the volume before us. It is full of instructive suggestions re-



specting the highest questions of social progress. The wisdom of his plans for the improvement of the colored race appears strikingly when contrasted with the multitude of fancies which prevail respecting the best methods of regenerating and elevating society. We have already given a brief account of his labors for the benefit of the fugitive slaves congregated in Canada, and of what he has proposed to accomplish. We are so accustomed to judge of men by the conspicuous positions which they occupy, that our estimate of what Henson has done may seem exaggerated. We think it will not, however, to those who feel sufficient interest in him to become acquainted with his course. It shows a very unusual elevation of mind and moral feeling, that one with his training should have conceived so clearly the importance of raising the general condition of the colored population, and should have been so self-impelled to seek the means of its improvement. But when we see one bred a slave, destitute, and obliged to labor steadily for the daily support of a large family, not learning to read till past middle life, and since then, probably, having read hardly any book but the Bible, — when we see such a one rousing the sluggish minds of his brethren to the idea of improvement, and, with no guide but his native good-sense and a benevolent heart, endeavouring to induce them to put into practice principles which such men as Adam Smith and Mill, and the best writers on political economy, have only slowly attained to, — we feel warranted in saying that under the slave's garb and this African skin there is no ordinary man. We think his history and his opinions quite as deserving of lengthened attention as those of a successful soldier or a mere party politician.

There are five things on which he has relied for the improvement of the blacks : — on religious instruction ; on education ; on withdrawing them from town and village life into the country, and, for the present, till new habits and ideas are established, away from the overshadowing presence of the whites ; on inducing them to become the owners of the soil which they cultivate ; and on habits of industry directed to the cultivation of those products most suitable to the region where they dwell. Through these means he hopes to promote, instead of the mental and moral childhood and imbecility of slavery, independence, forethought, intelligence, and a higher standard of character. If the founder

of every little robber state of antiquity has been deemed worthy of eternal commemoration in history and song, we think that he is deserving of respect, whether he finally succeeds or not, who but heartily attempts, by wise methods, to convert these thousands of fugitive slaves into a commonwealth of free and Christian men and women. If any of our readers think our notice of him too long, they may take to themselves the satisfaction of believing that there will not speedily appear another man of a similar sort, engaged in a similar undertaking, to weary their attention. If we may trust history, such men come singly, and only at considerable intervals. At any rate, however common they may be, so peculiar an opportunity for trying an experiment in civilization cannot often occur. We have no fear, however, that an apology will be thought needful. We believe that our readers will be interested in the efforts of one who, without noise or pretension, without bitterness towards the whites, without extravagant claims in behalf of the blacks, has patiently, wisely, and devotedly given himself to the improvement of the large body of his wretched countrymen amongst whom his lot has been cast.

If death do not interrupt his exertions, we hope for important results from his labors. Even then, others who have learned to sympathize with him may be prepared to take his place. And if in this way a large and successful example can be given of the slave's capacity for freedom, we can hardly forbear hoping that it may ultimately have an important influence on the efforts made to relieve the whole South from the burden of slave institutions.

E. P.

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#### ART. V. — THE NEMESIS OF FAITH.\*

THIS is a sad, sad book, — all the more so from its obviously indicating a morbid tendency in the minds of many to whom England might naturally look for light and wisdom. It is a draught from a fountain full of bitter waters. Faith and hope are poisoned, and charity languisheth.

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\* *The Nemesis of Faith.* By J. A. FROUDE, M. A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London: John Chapman. 1849. 12mo. pp. 227.

The author, a son of Archdeacon Froude, has been one of the Newman, or Puseyite, clique. He is a brother of the more noted Froude who was so prominent in the beginning of the Tractarian movement, and who died before the crisis came. The book has not the form of an autobiography, yet it is very evident that the fictitious narrative is simply the thread that binds together the writer's own thoughts and experiences.

The volume opens with a series of ten letters, dated onwards from September, 1843, and written from Markham Sutherland to his friend Arthur, describing the perplexities of a young man whose religious opinions are entirely adrift, but who is expected to enter the ministry, for which he has been educated, and who is at last prevailed upon to take orders by his father's importunity and his bishop's patronage. He remains upwards of a year in his parish, and falls under suspicion, and is induced to resign his living, from his little disposition to press what were deemed the peculiar dogmas of the Gospel, and to insist upon the Atonement with any more emphasis than might be consistent in a Socinian. The letters are followed by stray thoughts from his papers, and a document of some length, entitled "The Confessions of a Skeptic," and then the volume closes with a love-affair, somewhat of the Werther school. Markham unconsciously engages the affections of an English lady residing with her husband at Lake Como, sees with horror the abyss to which they are tending, and, by his own bitter experience, is convinced of the reality of sin, whose very existence he hardly owned upon speculative grounds. He is saved from suicide by the sudden appearance of Mornington, an old college friend who had left Oxford for Rome, and Faith has its Nemesis in the penance which he undergoes in the miserable cell to which vows, rather of despair than of devotion, had driven him. Thus ends the story : —

"But Markham's new faith-fabric had been reared upon the clouds of sudden, violent feeling, and no air-castle was ever of more unabiding growth; doubt soon sapped it, and remorse, not for what he had done, but for what he had not done; and amidst the wasted ruins of his life, where the bare, bleak soil was strewn with wrecked purposes and shattered creeds, with no hope to stay him, with no fear to raise the most dreary phantom beyond the grave, he sunk down with the barren waste, and the dry sands rolled over him where he lay; and no living being was

left behind him upon earth who would not mourn over the day which brought life to Markham Sutherland."

Many thoughts are suggested by this story. "The Confessions of a Skeptic" are the key to the whole. We learn here what we have always anticipated, that the Oxfordism of the nineteenth century, like that of the seventeenth, is to produce its school of infidelity. This brother of Froude differs more from that zealot of the Church than Lord Herbert of Cherbury from his peerless brother, the Church poet of the seventeenth century, and vitiates his sometimes devout and humane sentiment by a sharp logic and harsh cynicism, that show the spirit without the power of Thomas Hobbes.

The hero's faith is first shaken by his coming under the influence of Newman and his school, who shocked his old-fashioned religious notions of the Reformation, and led him to doubt the sufficiency of the Bible as the basis of belief, apart from an infallible Church. The next step was to doubt the authority of the Church; and then, leaving the fold of Newman, he rushed into the arms of Carlyle, and in the worship of genius or heroism tried to make up for the firm foothold which he had lost. Poor solace this! The shipwreck of faith became the shipwreck of conscience; and, to save himself from one crime, he meditated another, and was only by accident snatched from self-murder.

Has England no stronger minds to inspire her youth than the two most conspicuous in these pages, — Newman and Carlyle, — the Laud and the Cromwell of the literature of the nineteenth century, — the one become the servant of Rome instead of a victim of Puritan hate, the other a terrible devourer of predominant formalism, without the great Protector's power to break down its walls? England wants a strong man, who is a good man of the Christian stamp. Let one arise who shall make her youth feel the greatness of the work given them to do, and a true moral and spiritual interest in life will save her from Oxfordism and its reaction, — from such bigots as the Bishop of Exeter, and such books as the "Nemesis of Faith."

One is often reminded of Mountford's "Euthanasy" by the tone of many of these thoughts of Mr. Froude. Mountford has, we believe, exposed himself to far greater privations than the dainty intellectualist who is Mr. Froude's hero, in order to be true to his convictions, and in a liberal Chris-

tian faith and practical charity has found a far other destiny than a monastic cell and a make-believe devotion. The heart that prompted many of the exquisite sentiments of this volume is worthy of a far better lot. It is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, without any hope of the kingdom of heaven. It is a colloquy between aspiration and despair. It makes us think of Beethoven's great symphony in C, by contrast, for it reverses that magnificent portraiture of doubt contending with faith; for the jubilee is at the beginning of the skeptic's career, and the strain ends with a wail of despair. Did God send any soul into the world for such a destiny? Or is not a case like this one of the saddest instances of moral disease, — one of the most prominent cases of the morbid anatomy of the mind?

The newspapers say that the Senior Fellow of Froude's college (Exeter College, Oxford) has publicly burnt his book. If this be true, the fire will give its pages a more conspicuous illumination than if emblazoned with all the magnificence in which modern art has sought to rival the illuminated manuscripts of the olden times.

S. O.

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#### ART. VI.—THE EARTH AND MAN.\*

A SHORT time since, we invited the attention of the readers of the *Examiner* to Mrs. Somerville's "*Physical Geography*." We now find ourselves again attracted to the same general subject by the appearance of the two remarkable works the titles of which are given below. The new translations of Humboldt's *Cosmos*, which have also pre-

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\* 1. *The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in its Relation to the History of Mankind.* By ARNOLD GUYOT, Professor of Physical Geography and History at Neuchatel, in Switzerland. Translated from the French by C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 12mo. pp. 310.

2. *The Physical Atlas. A Series of Maps and Notes, illustrating the Geographical Distribution of Natural Phenomena.* By ALEXANDER KEITH JOHNSTON, F. R. G. S., F. G. S., Geographer at Edinburgh in ordinary to her Majesty, &c., &c. Based on the *Physikalischer Atlas* of Professor H. Berghaus, with the Coöperation in their several Departments of Sir David Brewster, Professors J. D. Forbes, Edward Forbes, and J. P. Nichol, and Dr. Ami Boué, &c., &c. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1848.

sented themselves at this time, contribute to keep alive the fresh interest in physical geography first awakened by the work of Mrs. Somerville. So vast is the subject, so various and extensive its relations, that the labors of many gifted and eloquent pens will hardly be able to sketch its general outlines, much less to exhaust the details. The earth presents itself to the mind, now as a body composed of definite proportions of the solid, liquid, and gaseous elements, and again as a member of the solar system; at one time, as the arena on which the terrible forces of nature — winds, waves, earthquakes, and volcanoes, light, heat, and electricity — combat each other, and, at another time, as the no less stormy theatre on which the heart and intellect of man are revealed in action. When we turn, therefore, from one to another of the books to which we have referred, we do not feel that we are travelling over, again and again, the same wearisome and beaten track, but rather that we contemplate in succession this goodly planet with the eye of the geographer, the astronomer, the natural philosopher, and the historian.

The grand idea of Professor Guyot's work is happily expressed by the author where he calls it the *geographical march of history*. When this fair planet was first given to man, to have dominion over it, to cultivate, and to enjoy, he was not left to wander up and down upon it at random, wherever passion or caprice might direct; but God himself, acting through the agency of the physical peculiarities of the earth's surface, which he had been long and carefully making ready for the entrance of man, no less than by direct interposition, restrained and guided him, as with a father's hand. It was not the design, and it has not been the effect, of this allotment to crush and imprison the superior faculties of this young race of intellectual beings within the forces of nature, which had been gathering their strength for many thousand years. Occasionally, his march to take possession of fairer and sunnier spots than those in which man's birth was cast has been arrested by some lofty chain of mountains, a broad sea, or that wilderness of waters, the ocean. Each of these obstructions, in turn, has proved an insurmountable barrier. Whole generations, and sometimes whole races, of men have sunk beneath it, and passed out of existence without an effort, and almost without an aspiration, to overcome it. Providence, notwithstanding, had prepared a way in which all such difficulties should be eventually conquered. While

the nations, following the courses of the rivers and the mountain chains, without venturing to cross them, seem to be growing more and more estranged, they come out at length once again in sight of one another, on the borders of some common sea, to which their circuitous pilgrimage has conducted them. Thus, at the present moment, what different races, and in how various stages of civilization, do we see clustered around the shores of the Mediterranean! France, with her refinement and her science; Italy, in all the beauty of her arts and all the deformity of her degeneracy; Spain, which has been shorn of her great glory, and is now bending under the burden of a church that is crushing her to the dust; Austria, in the last convulsive gasp of her despotism; Greece, with her reviving liberties; Russia, by her encroachments; Algiers, Egypt, and Turkey, presenting their fronts to receive the renovating breezes of European civilization; — all these nations, and many others, representatives of the past, present, and future civilization of the world, are acting and reacting powerfully on one another, and stand under mutual obligation for a thousand reciprocal services. Europe, Asia, and Africa, which exhibit on their broad surface all the different phases of civilization, and at their remote extremities look upon opposite poles, still touch, like spheres, at this single point, around the classic waters of the Mediterranean. And so has it always been. Through these waters the civilizations of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Arabia have exerted their power upon each other and the rest of the world. Through these waters Christianity itself has been brought into immediate contact with the moral and intellectual life of three great continents.

To the limited horizon of man's vision, this sea, though covering but a small spot on one of the smaller planets, still seems unbounded and infinite. If the sea is monotonous to one who is embarked upon its waters, nevertheless to one who stands by its side, gazes on its sublime tossing, and listens to its deep-pealing thunder, it suggests high thoughts and inspires to noble efforts. At first, the march of civilization is arrested on reaching its shores. But when its waves are hushed, and the sky is serene, and the gales are propitious, man ventures timidly out upon it, skirting the edge of its waters, till he at last discovers that what seemed without bounds can be circumnavigated in a few days or weeks. His courage strengthens, his prospects brighten:

He now ventures more boldly out, and is already master of the sea. As the first civilization was upon the banks of the fertilizing rivers, so this more advanced civilization finds its genial home by the margin of the great inland seas. But, after all, this maritime adventure is only the experimental school in which the race is training itself for the next trial of its skill and courage on the ocean. In the rapid encroachments of the most civilized races, the Atlantic Ocean is finally reached. After its sight has become familiar, intrepid navigators trust themselves to its bays, and then venture along its shores till the British Isles and the North of Europe have been visited, and the Cape of Good Hope has been turned. But the ocean cannot be spanned and its circumference measured, as can the inland sea, by skirting its shores. To the westward gaze of the restless navigator, the Atlantic offers no haven to his bark, and his stout heart falters. In the mean time, centuries roll on, — agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce by sea, geography, astronomy, optics, and all the natural sciences, are accumulating their material and intellectual treasures, and will, in time, supply the courage and the means to start for this great Western Continent, whose existence science and poetry have already confidently proclaimed. In this oceanic adventure, Spain, Portugal, the British Isles, and the Northland displayed and perfected their civilization. A voyage round the world, by doubling Cape Horn and crossing the Pacific under the gentle impulse of the trade-winds, soon succeeds to the discovery of America by the Europeans. Emigration, colonization, independence, and the establishment of free political institutions, have conspired with the amazing material resources of the Western Continent to make it the centre of a new civilization. In this work America will not act alone; but Europe, already brought as near to her by the modern appliances of art as were once the opposite shores of the Mediterranean, will temper the fiery energies of the new world with the sober wisdom, the mature science, and the long experience of the old. To the civilization of the Mediterranean will succeed the civilization of the Atlantic.

By means of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, not a few nations merely, but whole hemispheres, with their expanded continents, and all the lonely islands, are brought within the reach of the most advanced civilization. Those races which, from superior natural endowments, or from more



favorable physical influences, have led the van in this geographical march of mankind, behold in the ocean, and in the wonderful mechanism by which it is so speedily and safely traversed, the opportunity of sharing their own rich blessings with the less favored members of the human family, who have sunk by the way, and been left to what would otherwise be a hopeless barbarism. Christianity, which teaches that all men are brethren, and that the victories of peace are more splendid, as well as more holy, than those of war, and are celebrated even in heaven, proclaims the universal missionary enterprise. While civilization is becoming more refined and exalted, it grows less selfish and exclusive. Science henceforth may exhaust her skill, not in works of destruction, but in contributing to the comfort, the unity, and the freedom of all nations. As the fountains of Christianity are purified, inspiration comes for sterner conflicts with nature than those of the ocean. Already has this new spirit braved the perils of polar seas bridged over with eternal ice, and stormed the lofty mountain ridges blanched with everlasting snow. Thus has man, once the slave of Nature, become first her interpreter, and then her master. Led on, in the outset, by the physical peculiarities of the earth's surface, following the course of the rivers, the seas, the ocean, he has at length gained a foothold in her richest dominions, selected the fairest portions for his heritage, and, under her tuition, acquired a skill and courage by which he now combats her in her most impregnable fastnesses, and crosses, with the burden of trade or the implements of science, over those mountain ranges which once locked up the infant race in a hopeless embrace.

In order to be able to trace with scientific precision this geographical march of history, at which we have cast but a cursory glance, Professor Guyot passes in review the general facts of comparative physical geography, successively announced by Lord Bacon, Forster, Pallas, Buffon, Humboldt, Steffens, and Carl Ritter. If we look at a map of the world, we shall see that the northern hemisphere contains much more land than the southern hemisphere; that the meridian passing through the middle of the Atlantic Ocean will divide the earth into an eastern and western hemisphere, one of which contains the whole of the American continent, and the other the whole of the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia; that another great

circle, of which London is not far from being the pole, will divide the earth so that the whole of the land, with the exception of Australia, shall be in one half, and the rest be almost entirely covered with water, suggesting, therefore, the idea, that the whole of that side of the moon on which the astronomer's eye has never gazed, may be ocean. If we study the *configuration* of the continents, thus amassed together, we shall see that they expand in longitude at their northern extremities, while at the south they contract into high, rocky promontories ; that the southwestern coasts of all the continents are concave, and the southeastern convex to the same degree, so that the valleys of the oceans, particularly the Atlantic, though winding, are of the same width throughout, and bounded by parallel lines ; that each of the northern continents has a southern companion subordinate to it, though, to complete this analogy, Australia must be considered as associated with Asia through the chain of islands in the Eastern Archipelago ; that the principal mountain ranges of America run north and south, and so close to the western shores as to leave very long slopes towards the Atlantic, and very sudden ones towards the Pacific ; that the grand ranges of the Old World pass east and west, with the longest slopes dipping towards the Arctic Ocean, the North Sea, and thence into the Atlantic. The American continent is of feminine proportions, slender and tapering, stretching from pole to pole into every zone of temperature, in contact everywhere with the ocean, abounding in lakes and rivers and immense plains. The eastern continents are broad and masculine ; they lie chiefly in the northern hemisphere, with their long dimensions stretching parallel to the equator. They are covered with table-lands instead of plains, and inclose vast areas entirely secluded from the ocean. Europe, however, though more shut in from the ocean than America, is almost completely surrounded by seas. It is saturated with water.

These contrasts in the astronomical position, the contours, the reliefs, or, as Professor Guyot has happily expressed it, in the anatomy of the two continents, involve others, of still greater importance in their influence on vegetables, animals, and man. To explain this, the author enters into a lucid and highly interesting exposition of the theory of the winds and currents, by which temperature and moisture are apportioned to the different parts of the earth. In a former

article, we noticed the extreme brevity with which these subjects were treated by Mrs. Somerville. Whoever will read with attention the lectures of Professor Guyot on the circulation of heat and moisture, the true lifeblood of the planet, and bear in mind what has already been said in reference to the anatomical structure of the continents, will find no difficulty in understanding why America is damp and of uniform temperature, abounding in the most luxurious vegetation, which has impeded the free growth of all animals except insects and fishes ; whereas large portions of the Eastern Continent are dry, exposed to an excessive climate, moderately rich in vegetable productions, and glorying in their stock of animals. Such, it is well known, are the general characteristics of the two grand divisions of the globe. The *same* continent has local peculiarities, a warm side and a dry side, a hot side and a cold side ; most of which can be satisfactorily explained when all the circumstances of figure and position are known.

With all the difference that indisputably exists in the eligibility of the various portions of the earth's surface, the design is clearly manifested of making it furnish the largest accommodation possible for the organized creation. The astronomer recognizes this design in the relative adjustment of the equator and the ecliptic. A part of the solar heat, which would pour down upon the torrid zone if the sun were always in the equator, can be better bestowed upon the polar regions. This exchange is effected by inclining the plane of the earth's rotation to the plane of its revolution round the sun. In selecting the best angle of inclination, greater weight must be obviously given to the broad equatorial belt than to the circumscribed parallels near the poles. If the mathematician would take up the problem, and bring into his account the influence of geographical peculiarities, he would find, without doubt, that the existing angle of obliquity which, as he has already demonstrated, remains essentially unchanged amid all the mutations in the other elements of the system, has been selected with the same divine geometry which teaches the bee to fashion the angles of his little cell. After astronomy has done all that it can do, the several zones will still be widely distinguished from one another, both in regard to mean temperature and the changes of the seasons. The physical geographer and the natural philosopher come now to the aid of the astronomer ; the

one teaches us, that, on account of the remarkable diathermancy of the atmosphere, the temperature of the air diminishes as we leave the ocean at the rate of about one degree of Fahrenheit for every three hundred and fifty feet of ascent ; while the other points to the fact, that the mean height of the land above the ocean increases from the poles towards the equator. The dead level at the poles, the universal presence of water with its equalizing influence on heat, and the exterior envelop of ice which is never removed, all tend to economize the scanty heat which the sun sends to these forlorn spots. If the air there is intolerably bleak, the temperature of the water underneath may be sufficient for the life of fishes. At the equator, on the contrary, lofty peaks pierce the sky, fanned by the trade-winds and fed by the bountiful moisture which drops from their wings. The traveller, who advances on the steep slopes of these tropical mountains, changes his scene as rapidly as if he could travel from the equator to the poles with the speed of a cannon-ball. He beholds, in miniature, the vegetation of all the zones ; and, at sunset, reposes his head upon snows as enduring as those which whiten the poles. After all these compensations, astronomical, physical, and geographical, a large fund of residual contrasts and differences still remains, sufficient to develop that magnificent variety in which the God of nature everywhere rejoices.

We remember, however, that Professor Guyot does not style his work "The Earth and the Organized Creation," but "The Earth and Man," or comparative physical geography in its relation to the history of mankind. This planet, with its admirably appointed halls and playgrounds, is the school in which an intellectual and moral race are to receive their education ; and God,—working by his providence, his prophets, and his holy Son, no less than by a thousand suggestions which are continually dropping into the mind of man from the stars, the ocean, the winds, the rains, the mountains, the flowing drapery of the summer, the beautiful harmonies of sunset colors,—God is his teacher. If man were like other animals, — if muscular strength, brute courage, and the gratification of his sensual nature were all that was expected of him, — then we might look to find the cradle of the infant race sheltered among the flowering forests of South America or the Indian Archipelago, covered with beds of roses, and made fragrant by the perfumed breezes of the tropics. Had

this been his easy lot, he would have remained stationary like the other animals. Such has been, and is even now, the sad fate of whole races of men, who began at the right starting-point, but who mistook the way, listening to the siren voices which spoke to them from a too abundant nature, till they were enchanted almost into beasts. These, however, were wanderers from their Father's house. That home, that early home, was in the temperate zone, where, if man will do his part, nature will do the rest, — where self-indulgence starves, but competence, independence, a consciousness of powers superior to mere material forces, and a reliance upon a paternal Providence, are the exceeding great reward of exertion. The education of man having begun in this way, it advances according to the true law of the spirit, that to him who hath shall be given, and he shall have yet more abundantly ; while to the outcast, the wanderer, who hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath. It is by no means necessary to suppose that all the races which now people the world started originally from this or from any other single spot on the earth's surface. But here, at any rate, was the home of what we may call the historical race, — of that race commissioned by Heaven to carry the light of science and Christianity to the ends of the earth. History presents to us, in a series of impressive tableaux, the advanced guard of civilization, breathing the invigorating air of the temperate zone, and pressing forward over the plains of Western Asia, by the waters of the Mediterranean, into the South of Europe, thence to the British Isles, till now the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have been crossed, and it is master of the world.

Such is the high conception which runs through the whole of Professor Guyot's work and consecrates it in the memory. It is for the student of history to say what light it throws upon many dark passages in the chronicles of his race. The antiquary may take a lesson from it in tracing the origin of languages and the entombed monuments of lost nations. The man of science will hail it as a beautiful generalization from the facts of observation. The Christian, who trusts in a merciful Providence, will draw courage from it, and hope yet more earnestly for the final redemption of the most degraded portions of mankind. Faith, science, learning, poetry, taste, in a word, genius, have liberally contributed to the production of the work under review. Sometimes we feel as if we

were studying a treatise on the exact sciences ; at others, it strikes on the ear like an epic poem. Now it reads like history, and now it sounds like prophecy. It will find readers in whatever language it may be published ; and in the elegant English dress which it has received from the accomplished pen of the translator, it will not fail to interest, instruct, and inspire.

Hitherto, in this country at least, history and physical geography, which can impart such a charm to each other, have been made distinct branches of study, to the prejudice of both, but particularly of the latter. History, in proportion as it reveals to us the passions, experiences, and fate of beings like ourselves, will always engage the heart. The details of physical geography, however interesting to the man of science, cannot be expected to enlist the love of the general reader, and especially of the young, unless they acquire vitality and interest by contact with the fortunes of the human race. Many of the facts which it teaches have no scientific meaning until they are contemplated under this relation. We congratulate, therefore, the lovers of history and of physical geography, as well as all those who are interested in the growth and expansion of our common education, that Professor Guyot contemplates the publication, from time to time, of a series of elementary works on Physical Geography, in which these two great branches of study which God has so closely joined together will not, we trust, be put asunder. As Professor of Physical Geography and History at Neuchatel in Switzerland, Mr. Guyot is accustomed to study these subjects in their interesting relations to each other ; and whatever books he shall give to the public upon these topics will be from the hands of a master.

We may inform the distant reader that these lectures, of which we are now ready to take leave, were delivered in French during the last winter at the halls of the Lowell Institute ; the same liberality which founded that institution being ever ready to dedicate it to the cause of science. The lectures were uttered without notes, and written out the morning after their delivery from memory. From these materials a translation was made by Professor Felton, and published in the Boston Evening Traveller. In this way Professor Guyot, though from the nature of the case he did not address a numerous audience, was heard and appreciated by a large reading community. If the American re-

public, by the example she presents to the world of a free, industrious, happy, and religious people, has inspired the breasts of the oppressed in Europe to venture all to secure the same blessings at home, how speedily and how richly has the debt been paid, when her revolutions have sent hither or have detained here some of her most eminent men of science! Thus, the meditative, conservative spirit of the Old World, and the free, energetic, practical spirit of the New World, will impart of their excellence each to the other. Thus may we continue to see that higher civilization, of which Professor Guyot has so eloquently prophesied, grow on the shores of the Atlantic.

The *Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena*, by A. K. Johnston, was published at Edinburgh during the last year. It is a superb folio volume, containing thirty physical maps, with descriptions and illustrations. To those acquainted with the celebrated *Physical Atlas* of Professor Berghaus, of Potsdam, it is sufficient to say that the latter has been made the groundwork of the *Atlas* of Mr. Johnston. The maps are much enlarged above their original size, and fifteen of the thirty are wholly new. The object of a physical atlas is to represent, by lines or otherwise, to the eye all the grand physical laws of the earth, as simple geographical position is indicated on ordinary maps by the lines of latitude and longitude. In the *Atlas* of Professor Johnston, ten of the maps are devoted to Geology, six to the Hydrology of the earth, five to Meteorology, and nine to Phytology and Zoölogy.

The publication of a physical atlas, illustrative of the geography of this Western Continent, in the same magnificent style, at the expense of the government of the United States, would be a contribution to science worthy of its remarkable geographical position and its character as the representative of a free and intelligent people. In the mean while, we commend it to the consideration of Professor Guyot and his publishers, whether an economical physical atlas containing all the maps of Berghaus's *Atlas* on the same scale as the *Physical Map of the World* which he has introduced into his late publication, would not be a valuable auxiliary to the introduction of those elementary works which he has already promised. The success of the artist who has illustrated the lectures, as well as the beautiful type of the publishers, is a pledge of the excellence of any similar work which they may undertake.

J. L.

ART. VII.—THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR  
THEOLOGY.*Unitarian*

[An Address, read before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 30, 1849. By EZRA S. GARNETT, D. D.]

IN selecting the subject to which I should invite your attention, brethren, I have been governed by my apprehension of the purpose of this Annual Address, as well as by personal preference. The object of the Address, I conceive, is twofold: first, to present a train of thought having connection with some of the religious aspects of the time; and secondly, to offer remarks that may provoke an amicable discussion. In both these ways may the design of our meeting, which I understand to be an increased ability of ministerial usefulness, be promoted. Your judgment will decide how far the subject I have chosen has the requisite fitness to the hour, and your candor will accept my imperfect treatment of it as a hint that the chief profit which may result from its introduction here must come through the expression it shall lead you to give to your own riper and clearer thought.

I propose to speak on the Nature and Importance of our Theology. On both these points it seems to me that unjust remarks are often made. Among us there is a depreciation of theology, for which I can hardly account; and from other quarters we hear a frequent denial of any value or substance in Unitarian theology, which does not the less grieve me because it is easily explained. Some remarks of a general character may therefore be needed to remove obstructions which lie in the way of the view I wish to take.

What is the precise office, place, or value of theology? Is it a factitious or a real importance to which it will be entitled, if we allow the claim urged by many writers in its behalf? It has been called the greatest of sciences: is this a rhetorical falsehood? Of late, it is not unusual to hear men speak of it with distrust, if not with derision; as, when our modern carpenters speak contemptuously of the oaken beams with which our forefathers framed their houses, does the craftsman's interest unconsciously warp his judgment?

What is theology? Θεοῦ λόγος, the account of God, the description which man may give of the character and gov-



ernment of that Being whose infinite will embraces all principles, methods, and results, — the Being of whose existence all truth is the reflection, of whose energy all life is the expression, of whose love all enjoyment and all hope are but streams continually fed from their Source. If we adopt this definition, we seem to be precluded from an attempt to undervalue that which, according to the very terms we use in our explanation, relates to the highest of subjects and extends over the widest reach of thought. It will be difficult to show the incorrectness of the definition. I doubt not that theology is often taken in a narrower sense by those who treat it with dishonor; but their restriction of its meaning affords them only the defence of needless or wilful ignorance. People should learn what they are aiming at, before they deal blows. Scholastic theology, we are told, cramps the mind; and so is muddy water an unwholesome beverage. Controversial theology inflames the passions; and so does water with a mixture of alcoholic spirit inflame the blood. Speculative theology chills the heart; and so does ice chill the body. But pure water, such as God gives us to drink, is healthful and needful; and the man who should denounce its use because it could be so mixed or changed, or is often so mixed or changed, as to be injurious, would bring the sanity of his mind under question. It may be said that theology is man's production, and not God's gift, and therefore must always contain more or less deleterious matter. But I would reply, that, if it were so, the analogy and the argument it includes remain good; for the purest water, when examined by the microscope, is seen to contain foreign substances not usually thought agreeable to the stomach, yet we find it refreshes and strengthens us; and in a similar way I suppose our theology may contain errors imperceptible, except on a very strict examination, whose bad effect will be neutralized by the wholesome ingredients with which they are combined. And further, theology is not wholly man's work; it is, to a certain extent, a natural product of the soul. Except in its most brutal condition, if even then, the soul cannot live without some notion of a higher Intelligence and a superior Power, and that notion is the germ of its theology.

Hence it appears to me that theology will hold its place in the world, let it be ever so much resisted or derided. Neither the world nor the individual can get along without

it. Every man has a theology of his own. He may not know it; he may not know the meaning of the word; but what then? Every man has his theory of health, though he may never have heard of physiology or dietetics. He believes that he must eat and sleep and work, or that he must avoid this or that indulgence, if he would be well, and he practises accordingly; yet were you to ask him what hygienic treatment he pursued, he might stare at you in amazement. It has been said that words are things; but people often get the things without the words they are called by. 'What can a poor woman,' it is asked, 'who must work all the day to earn bread for her children, and at night perhaps can only with much painstaking read a chapter in her Bible, know of the science of theology? What does she need to know of it? Is she not the better without it?' Of theology as a science she knows nothing, and needs to know nothing; but of that which constitutes the substance of theology she knows a great deal. Of the principles which regulate the transmission of caloric from her scanty fire through the atmosphere to her limbs, or determine the fitness of one sort of garment rather than another to protect her against the winter's cold, she is profoundly ignorant; but with the great facts and relations that exist between the fuel she consumes, the clothing she wears, and her own physical condition, she is entirely conversant. So are the great spiritual facts and relations, which are best ascertained through experience, familiar to her, although she be a stranger to the reasonings that might explain, or the principles that underlie, those facts and relations. Take away her knowledge of these, her *heart-knowledge* of them, and you leave her to a destitution of which her former poverty was not even a type, a wretchedness of which she had had no conception before, because you take from her her knowledge of God's providence and will, her faith in God, her theology.

No, it may be said, hers is what you have called it, *heart-knowledge*, while theology belongs to the mind. In the first instance, certainly; and the lowly Christian of whom we have spoken received it into her heart through her mind. The difference between her and the man who has legitimated his conclusions by reasoning and study is simply this, — that the ideas which she has received pass at once into her heart, and there become sentiments and habits, and as such, rather than as ideas, are entertained by her, while with him they

remain long, perhaps always, among the furniture of his mind and are there examined as mental conceptions. He is a theologian, she is not; but she has a theology as well as he, and with her as well as with him its foundation is truth apprehended by the intellect. Ideas are essential to religion, — its basis, its groundwork, its fountain. There is a kind of discourse on this subject, which — I would say with all possible respect for those who use it — appears to me to be either void of meaning or full of mischief. Religion is sentiment, we are told, and not doctrine, — love, and not belief, — spiritual experience, and not intellectual discrimination. Now what sentiment is there which does not have its origin in thought, — what love, that does not flow from a belief concerning the object of the affection, — what inward experience, that can be disjoined from all intellectual activity? The instinctive love of the parent recognizes truths respecting her child which determine the character and intensity of her affection; the love of the child, the moment it passes beyond a mere animal clinging to the care that nourishes it, contemplates certain realities on which its little mind passes judgment. Our moral sentiments do not disown their dependence on the mind. That is the background on which they are formed, as truly the figures on the painter's canvas derive their life from what he puts behind them. Our aspirations after purity and bliss, after heaven and God, spring out of our ideas concerning God and heaven and holiness and happiness. The seraph's rapture is the fire of an intellectual conception. A religion of mere sentiment, like the watery appearances of the desert, will be found neither to afford refreshment nor to have any substance. A purely æsthetic piety, like the gorgeousness of the clouds, neither gives warmth nor promises permanence; it is not worth talking about, in prose or in poetry. Again, we are told that religion is life, and not dogma, — obedience, and not faith; and we assent to the remark, when interpreted as common sense and experience should teach us to receive it. The life is the essential thing; but what consistency or practical worth will there be in a life which is not governed by fixed rules or proper motives? and what are rules or motives but the conclusions at which the mind arrives in its inquiries after duty? Obedience is what God requires; but how shall we become obedient, if we remain in ignorance alike of the Being whom we should obey and the service we should ren-

der ? and how can such ignorance be removed, except by implanting in the mind certain notions respecting God and his law ? In the last analysis, the religious life must be reduced to a practical use of certain convictions which the mind accepts. They may be many or few, they may be correct or incorrect ; but on their character and strength will depend the growth, stability, and reality of the religious life.

Let me for a moment exhibit the picture of a man without any theological opinions. He, of course, believes nothing about God, nothing about Christ, nothing about the elements or sanctions of morality, nothing about immortality. He must not declare himself to be either a Trinitarian or a Unitarian, for then he would stray into the forbidden ground of theology. But, further, he must eschew, not deism or pantheism only, but theism also, for that lies on the other side of the prescribed line. He may have his notions about worldly affairs and political events, he may store his mind with all sorts of knowledge except religious knowledge, he may be just as good and spiritual as he can be without any faith in things Divine ; but the moment he attempts to vindicate his spirituality or strengthen his goodness by recurrence to the great truths of the universe, on which angels feed and which in Christ become the bread of life to every believer, a voice of solemn admonition cries, Beware ! that is the perilous domain of theology, full of briers and forests, where you will lose yourself, or become the prey of fierce sectarians ; go not there, as you value either comfort or improvement.

I do not think, brethren, that there is caricature or extravagance in this picture ; for I do not see how the dread of theology which is entertained by some persons, if it pay due respect to etymological or logical principles, can stop short of absolute atheism. It is bound in consistency to ignore all religious truth. That no one intends to proceed so far only shows that even wise and honest men do not examine with sufficient care the positions they are eager to defend. The very arguments on which such persons rely are deceptive. Jesus taught no theology, it is said. In one sense this is true. We cannot describe our Lord to our own minds as the head of a theological institution ; nor can we imagine him as filling any other capacity, or performing any other service, than just that in which he is presented by the Evangelists. One of the strongest grounds of confidence in

their narrative is the precise adaptation of the individual to the circumstances which are recorded. The living portrait could be set in no other frame. But that Jesus taught theology is just as true as that he taught morality ; nay, more, of his teaching it may be said with peculiar emphasis that it was founded on theology, — on the views he presented of the Divine character and of our relations to the Heavenly Father. How constant was his reference to God ! Whether the multitude, the disciples, or the captious scribes, were the persons whom he addressed, he brought into view the great doctrines which it was one purpose of his ministry to establish in the world. “ I came,” said he, “ to bear witness unto the truth.” The Apostles copied their Master’s example. “ Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works,” are the words of James, the champion of practical religion. I will show thee — not my works without faith, but — my faith by my works, my theology by its fruits.

No, brethren ; the attempt to decry theological studies and theological tenets will not bear examination. It is founded in mistake, and must lead to evil. The distinction often made between theology and religion is unsound and impracticable. They cannot be disjoined. They belong together, and must go together. To identify them is also a mistake, for this is confounding a part with the whole. But to separate them is like severing the trunk from the roots of the tree. The roots are not the tree, but the trunk will not grow without them ; it will not stand without them. The roots and the trunk, with all its branches, leaves, and fruit, compose the tree ; so do opinion and life, with “ whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report,” make up religion. Without opinion, the life, the character, all that is excellent or beautiful, loses its support and its sustenance. Without theology there can be no faith, no church, no religion. The heathens had their theologies. Egypt, India, Greece, Rome, Scandinavia, all had their doctrines concerning the unseen world. Without them they could have had no idolatry, no priesthood, and no worship. You may read pagan theology in Lucretius or in Ovid, in the Vedas or the Sagas, and may feel admiration, contempt, or pity for those who were satisfied with such crude conceptions of the Divinity which they enshrined, sometimes in a material emblem and sometimes in fantastic thought ; but still *there is*,

and was, their theology, which the wants and laws of human nature compelled them to form in some shape or other. Revelation has always presupposed and included theology. Adam had a theology in Paradise, and Abraham in Canaan. Moses was the greatest theologian of the ancient world. His whole system of morals, civil polity, and sacrificial worship was built upon the two fundamental tenets of all correct theology, — the unity, and self-existence of God. “Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord.” “Say unto the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you.” Theology meets us on every page of the Old Testament. The Psalms are full of it; the Prophets abound in it; even the Proverbs discard it not. The New Testament is the manual of Christian theology. The Evangelists enunciate it, the Epistles expound it. Peter preached theology on the day of Pentecost, and in the house of Cornelius; Paul preached it at Athens, and in Rome. The Bible is a theological text-book, and he who reads the Bible and contemns theology might come from the study of the heavens a disbeliever in the stars.

Theology is the noblest of studies, the sublimest of sciences. It treats of infinite attributes and infinite relations; of the Supreme Intelligence, the Eternal Reason, the Omnipresent Love; of an all-embracing, all-sustaining Providence; of the moral government of the universe, whose laws are the channels through which all experience is distributed in all worlds; of the responsibilities and destinies of the soul, its glory and its shame, its ruin and its recovery; of redemption, the fruit of God’s mercy, and of retribution, the consequence of man’s freedom; of Christ, the being in whom it was no impiety to say, “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father”; of the principles and methods of that spiritual education by which we may be trained for those higher scenes of progress into which death will introduce us; of truth, excellence, life, immortality. These are the subjects that fall within the province of theology. And now I ask, in the name of all that is right in itself or worthy of man’s attention, if these subjects ought to be slighted, or the science which includes and combines them to be disparaged? Theology opens to us the mysteries of our consciousness; unlocks for our use the treasures of the universe; places the soul amidst the harmonies of the creation; lifts it into communion with the Uncreated One. Loftiest and most com-

prehensive of studies, pathway to the fount of sempiternal light, ascent of the soul to its perfection! — what can we say of it that shall pass the bounds of sober truth?

I need not remind you, brethren, of the various uses and connections of this study. Beyond all others it is fitted to expand, enrich, and strengthen the mind; not only by furnishing it with the grandest conceptions, but by leading it into the most profound inquiries, and compelling it to use the most rigid processes of thought. Captious critics, and sour bigots, and poor reasoners, and vain pretenders we may find turning this noble science to miserable ends; but bad husbandry does not bring agriculture into disrepute, nor the follies of socialists and anarchists drive the world to disown liberty. It is impossible for one to bestow close examination on such subjects as I have indicated, or to meditate on them with the reverential delight which they are suited to inspire, and not gain intellectual force. Theological investigation is the healthiest employment of the mind. Besides, all other science should be pursued in the light which such investigation casts upon it. A man is but half taught, in physics or ethics or politics, who has not learned to connect the agency of God with all that is or should be. Which commands the more sincere admiration, which showed himself the wiser interpreter of nature, Newton or Laplace? I will not insist, however, on these general relations of theological truth. Let me say but a word of its connection with personal character and professional life.

Theology gives us some definite opinions on which to erect our purposes and habits. Without such opinions, how can you trust a man? — how can any one trust himself? Let him be “carried about with every wind of doctrine,” and all he will be good for is to show in what direction the currents of the popular belief tend. Let him be “ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth,” and the Apostle shall tell us whom he will resemble, — “silly women, laden with sins.” Let him, having “proved all things, hold fast that which is good,” and you may feel some confidence in his stability. I am not now contending in behalf of any one system of faith, but only for some settled, well-defined religious belief. I can respect a sincere attachment to any faith, Catholic or Protestant; I can see how a man may extract spiritual nourishment out of poisonous errors, if he believe them to be God’s holy truth, for to him they

become Divine and holy, and their noxious quality is neutralized by his imputation to them of a character which they do not deserve ; but I cannot for the life of me understand how a man who has no fixed opinions, no creed which his own thought has written out, can have any solid basis of character. All practical religion, all personal piety, must have a doctrinal basis. There is nothing on earth so powerful, so efficacious, as a religious conviction. It may be utterly false, or wildly extravagant ; only let the mind embrace it as true, and it will fill that mind with religious purpose and religious aspiration. Calvinism produces spiritual results by establishing in the soul a belief in God's sovereignty ; Universalism, by establishing a belief in God's benevolence ; but unless a man believe something, and know that he believes it, and know what it is that he believes, his penitence, his devotion, his hope, are only shadows cast upon his mind by the passing influences of life.

Look next at the effect which the want of a clearly ascertained religious belief must have on our professional life. It will deprive it of all consistency, energy, efficiency. Brethren, what have we to do in our ministry, but to unfold the mysteries of Divine truth to the ignorant, the careless, the troubled, and the sinful ? But how can we unfold what we have not ourselves examined ? If ours were only a perfunctory service, if all we must do to save our own souls or the souls of others were to repeat a form of worship and utter commonplaces of instruction without considering how much they import, we might not need to acquaint ourselves with theology ; but if we mean to enlighten, persuade, or comfort the people, we must carry in our own minds answers to the questions they will put to us, — we must be theologians. It is sad to think how many enter the ministry without any well arranged and established doctrinal persuasions, and how many, after entering on the duties of the ministerial life, neglect the studies which are most intimately connected with the employment they have chosen. Men whose office it is to expound the highest truths of consciousness and experience achieve eminence by their classical attainments or their historical researches, which, if they pursue only as a relaxation from severer labors, may entitle them to such measure of gratitude or praise as we bestow on one who makes a wise use of his leisure ; but when they prefer such occupation to strictly



professional studies, they betray at least a singular judgment concerning the nature of the work which they have undertaken. What should we think of a civil engineer, who should spend his time in sketching landscapes? The disrepute into which dogmatic and critical theology has fallen, is in no way creditable to us. If such works as Calvin's Institutes, and Edwards's Treatises, and the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, were more read, we should be abler ministers of the New Testament. They would set us on thinking, and give to our preaching more substance. Those Bodies of Divinity, of which it has become a fashion to speak with contempt, contained learning and thought and argument, before which the superficial discussions of our day appear as might one of our modern cottages placed near a deserted castle of the feudal ages. Forsaken and neglected, of what massive materials was it constructed, by what patient industry must it have been reared! Once, a man must write a book, too hard, perhaps, for many to read, if he would gain a reputation for professional diligence; now, if he publish a discourse which has some novelty of expression, the land rings with his fame. Our theological publications pass through the pulpit in their way to the press; they may be heavy, but they cannot be very bulky.

What is it that has brought theology into such discredit? Something we may charge to the impatient and superficial character of the age. Something to the cold, technical forms of thought, the dry and abstruse argumentation, the stiff, despotic creeds, of which theology has been the parent. Something to the notion, that religion has been made by us too much an exercise of the understanding, and too little an experience of the heart. The more common justification, however, of a neglect of the clergyman's appropriate studies is, that they either engender skepticism, or beget dogmatism and produce controversy, and in either case render his preaching less useful and his influence less valuable. Let us look a moment at this statement of the probable effects of an interest in theological studies. First, they unsettle one's belief. Very well; there is no harm in that, for if it could be unsettled by examination, it was not held on any proper ground of confidence. But they lead the mind, it is said, into the midst of perplexities from which it cannot find its way out. That is a mistake; it can find its way out, just as it found its way in, — by going on. Let it examine

farther, and it will come to some clear ground. It will get some faith of its own ; and a grain of such faith has more of the virtue of the grain of mustard-seed in our Lord's parable, than the largest amount of inherited belief. But does a disuse of the methods of theological inquiry prevent a skeptical or changeful mood of mind ? Who are they that—in the face of the Scriptural counsel to “leave the principles of the doctrine of Christ,” as the mathematical student leaves the elementary principles of his science, and “go on unto perfection”—are always “laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of baptism and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection from the dead, and of eternal judgment,” as if nothing were settled, nothing clear ; who are they that now lean in this direction, now in that, and of whom it is difficult to say what is the average amount of their faith, to-day they believe so much, and to-morrow so little ? They are not the men who toil in the mines of theological science ; they belong to another division of the Christian body.

Controversy, however, springs up on the field of doctrinal investigation. Be it so. There are worse things than controversy. Angry or unfair disputation is not an evil only, it is a sin ; but men may state and defend their differences of belief without unfairness or ill-temper. Controversial preaching, we are told, is not what the people want. Perhaps not ; and the pulpit, we admit, is not the place for sectarian warfare. But doctrinal preaching the people need, alike for its own sake and for its connection with their religious exercises and spiritual improvement.

Controversy may be conducted in a good spirit. A Christian may esteem his own opinions as God's blessed truth, and yet allow to another an equal right to hold his opinions in the same regard. Candor and faith do not turn each other out of doors. The clearer the convictions an individual entertains, the more likely is he to respect the honest convictions of another mind ; and the more laborious the process by which he has arrived at the results that give his own mind peace, the more able and the more disposed will he be to do justice to another's satisfaction in the results to which similar toil has led him. Dogmatism is an offence against the rights of man and the order of society, but it is the vice of the sciolist rather than the student. It no more belongs to the theologian than pedantry to the scholar.

We need not dread the effects of distinct theological opinion. Dread rather that indolence or timidity which shuns investigation, and that vagueness of conception which beholds Christian truths only as the blind man, who, before our Lord had restored his full sight, saw "men as trees walking." Precision and accuracy of thought should be desired by every believer. So many questions will remain in regard to which he can only approximate to a confident result, that he should endeavour to settle to his own satisfaction as many points as possible. The methods by which such satisfaction may be obtained are various. One may trust most to logical deductions, another to Scriptural authorities, and a third to prayer ; while he will be wiser than them all, who to careful reasoning and Biblical study shall add earnest supplication to be guided into all truth. But let no one be content to remain without decision and without curiosity on the subjects on which, by any or all of these methods, he may reach the comfort of a clear and firm faith. Let the private Christian, for his own sake, bring his belief to the test of an explicit statement. Let the preacher arrange and rectify his own conclusions for the sake of the people whom he addresses. Instruction is the first office of the pulpit, — first in order of time, if not first in importance. The minister who will leave the deepest mark on his congregation is not he who ravishes them by his eloquence or excites in them the strongest emotion, but he who succeeds in communicating to them the ideas which they incorporate with their intellectual and moral growth. Especially is this true in New England. I believe there is no kind of preaching to which a New England audience listen with so much pleasure, as to a clear and forcible enunciation of truth. The sermons of the late Dr. Emmons, I suppose, would be styled by many persons dry, technical, unprofitable ; and yet he held the attention of a large society through the Sundays of half a century by such preaching, and impressed himself indelibly on the minds of two generations. Fidelity to the work to which we have consecrated ourselves forbids us to give "an uncertain sound" when we discourse on the great themes of God's law and man's hope, Christ's sacrifice and the world's redemption.

The objection sometimes brought against a systematic religious belief, that it throws a chain around the mind, and prevents its approach to the perfect truth, is founded in mis-

apprehension. The advocates of a progressive theology need not anticipate the disappointment of their hope as a consequence of precision in the statement of opinions. If by a *progressive theology* be meant a loose, unstable belief, without fixed principles or definite conclusions, then all that I am saying is intended to show the evils to which it would give rise. But if by this phrase be meant a constant approximation to a complete view of spiritual truth, to an exact measurement of the circle of which, taking man as the centre, God will be the circumference,—a result to which, from the finite nature of our powers, we can only approximate,—then the admission of certain positive ideas is necessary, as the point from which we shall advance. In maintaining the importance of established opinions, I do not contend for an unchangeable belief. In ascribing to theology the character of a science, I do not claim for it, as it lies before our minds—or any but the Infinite Mind—absolute perfection. All science is progressive. The discovery of new facts calls for new generalizations; principles which were regarded as settled may need to be revised; and not only must the mistakes of former times be corrected, but the student must continually seek to rectify or justify his own conclusions by a more thorough investigation. The botany, the chemistry, the political economy of our day is in a very different state from that in which it appeared under Linnæus, or Lavoisier, or Adam Smith; yet in their times these studies were included within the circle of the sciences. We speak of geology as a science, although its fundamental principles are still open to discussion. Yet we expect of every student of this science, and especially of every geological teacher, that he will have adopted some one or other theory by which to explain and arrange the facts that come under his notice. In like manner the student in theology, and especially the theological teacher,—and such is every Christian minister by virtue of his office,—must take some fundamental truths as settled, at least to his own satisfaction, that he may establish either order or connection among the moral facts and spiritual ideas which present themselves to his mind. We do not affirm that our theology is perfect in all its parts; we hope it will gain more accuracy of definition and more breadth of view. But we should be careful to avoid that style of discourse which conveys the impression, if it do not directly teach, that the free mind must

believe nothing very confidently or very long. Free inquiry finds its point of departure in humble faith. The bigot and the skeptic represent the two extremes, between which lies the true position of the Christian. He is a *believer*; that is the name given to him in the New Testament, — “Be thou an example of the believers.” What answer can he whose religious persuasions are undetermined give to any one “that asketh a reason of the hope that is in” him? The great facts of theological science do not lie in obscurity; its essential truths are universally admitted: these, at least, we may embrace with the strongest and heartiest faith. And beyond these, every one should have accepted certain definitions and results, which, though he may hereafter be compelled to modify them, he now regards as correct. It seems to me that this is a true statement of the relations between faith, freedom, and progress.\*

That which I have now endeavoured to establish in regard to the individual, whatever capacity he may hold in the Church, is true of any denomination that would exert a direct and worthy influence. It must have a theology of its own, which can be stated in intelligible language, and be reduced to scientific propositions. There are but two methods which a sect can adopt to secure a permanent existence. One is a distinctive theology, and the other a peculiar ecclesiastical organization. The latter alone will not give it strength, for organization is only the external pressure that gives shape to a body. There must be a vital element, and that can be found only in its doctrine. Men cannot be made to care very much for a form, so long as they view it as no more than a form; but let them regard it as the symbol of a truth, and they will die for it. Any denomination that shall make itself felt in the world must have a theology which it can call its own, and by which it shall be distinguished from every other sect. Presbyterianism owes its energy, not to its book of Discipline, but to its formularies of faith. The Church of England stands not upon its Liturgy, but on its Thirty-Nine Articles. From Rome to Nauvoo, it is its doctrinal belief that has given to every church or denomination its stability. *We* cannot evade the force of a law to which all other religious bodies

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\* The preceding paragraph, and one or two others near the close, have been added since the delivery of the Address, as being necessary to a fair exhibition of the subject.

have been obliged to submit. We must have a theology of our own, or we shall perish, and ought to perish.

We have such a theology. On its importance I need not enlarge, after the length to which the previous remarks have been extended ; for if they have been just, they have prepared us to acknowledge the importance of "holding fast the faithful word, as we have been taught, that we may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." Of its nature, however, you will allow me to add something to what has been already said.

We have a theology, that is, we have certain definite and fixed opinions, — we, who belong to this Conference, — we, and the churches and the portion of the community which we represent. There is a name by which we are designated, whether we like it or not ; and which, whether we use it or not, is never uttered in our hearing without reminding us of certain points of doctrinal agreement and difference, — agreement among ourselves, and difference from others, — by which we are therefore distinguished. There is a Unitarian theology. It includes our faith in God, in Christ, in man ; in the moral character and the final issues of the present life ; in the Father whom we worship, in the Son whom we honor, in the Holy Spirit which we receive ; in our own capacity, and frailty ; in the vileness and peril of sin ; in the Gospel as a Divine gift ; in progress as the law of man's being, and in perfection as its end ; in spiritual renovation, and spiritual experience ; in love as the great principle of sanctification, and in eternal life as its consequence and reward. I would not be guilty of the presumption of forming a creed for others ; but is there one of us, brethren, that would hesitate to acknowledge these as articles of his belief ? They constitute the framework of our theology. They include the revealed, fundamental, vital truths of religion. Where is your Unitarian theology ? it is said. In the Bible, we reply. In our hearts, again we reply. And I would add, Here, in the doctrines of which I have now given the briefest statement. The existence, perfection, and unity of God, the universality and tenderness of his providence, the integrity of his government, the Divine authority of Jesus of Nazareth, the perpetual obligation of obedience, the efficacy of repentance, the exercise of mercy as sealed to the believer in the blood of the cross, the certainty of retribution, the promise of immortality, — are these empty words,

or disconnected phrases? Is there no substance nor consistency in these forms of thought? We have a theology, — a definite, compact theology. We “believe,” and therefore have we “spoken,” and by God’s grace will continue to speak, of the precious faith which unites us in a holy brotherhood.

The conditions of a sound theology, besides its reasonableness and its Scriptural origin, in both which respects we claim for our faith the superiority over other forms of belief, are, that it be positive, consistent, and efficacious. Ours is a positive theology. It consists in affirmation, not in denial. “The Unitarians have only a negative faith,” say religious journalists and Christian preachers all over the country; and the people believe them, — for who ought to be believed, if not ministers and editors of religious papers? And yet a more palpable falsehood never came from the pen or tongue of mortal man. Because the Unitarians do not believe all that other Christians believe, and moreover one of them years ago wrote a book which he entitled “A Statement of Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians,” therefore their faith is altogether negative! Conclusive proofs, truly! Look at the enumeration of our articles of faith; there is not one word of denial in them; they are all affirmative propositions. The denial of a three-fold distinction in the Divine nature, or of man’s total depravity, or of a vicarious atonement, is not a part of our theology. The contents of a vessel are not what you pour out of it, but what you leave in it.

It is not only on one side that I hear the declaration, that we have no theology. Ever and anon, a lament over this want arises among ourselves, and a hope is expressed that the time will come when we shall not be all afloat on the sea of speculation. I deny that we are in this state now. Our theology at this very moment is better settled than the theology of half the Protestant sects about us. Will any one tell me what is incontrovertible doctrinal truth in the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, or the Congregational churches, — not what are the phrases they agree to use, but what are the ideas they invariably connect with those phrases? Our theology is not so indistinct as some among us represent it to be. In regard to the attributes of the Divine character, for example, we speak with as much clearness and exactness as any body of Christians. Our views of

human nature, while on some metaphysical questions we differ from one another, are not only negatively, but positively, definite. We have a theory, — be it true or false, — we have what we believe to be a true and adequate theory of regeneration ; and a theory, be it true or false, of retribution. We can state in explicit terms — whether right or wrong — the relation which, as we conceive, the mission and death of Christ hold to the sinner's forgiveness and the soul's salvation. It would lead me too far from my immediate purpose, or I might show how, on every one of the great points of religious interest, our conceptions are not less distinct, and are much more uniform, than those which we find in other denominations. A single illustration may not be improper. The doctrine of atonement is regarded by most believers as the central point of the Gospel. Now, on the one hand, let me remind you of the various theories which have been broached by zealous advocates, from the most offensive scheme of imputation to the latest resolution of the whole mystery into an objective illusion, and, on the other hand, describe our plain and Scriptural ground of "joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement." According to the ideas which enter into our faith, God freely forgives the penitent who with a true heart takes up a new life. He forgives, that is, he no longer regards him as an offender. In consequence of man's voluntary change, the relations which existed between him and God are changed. God now accepts him as an obedient child, and he contemplates God as his tender Father. Mercy, which is the exercise of kind regards towards one who has merited rejection and condemnation, is declared by Christ to be waiting in the Divine mind to put on its fullest expression when the sinner shall humble himself in repentance ; and he, believing the truth of this declaration, as not only uttered by the lips, but sealed in the blood, of the Lord Jesus, seizes on that mercy, is reconciled to God, and obtains a hope full of glory. Here is an intelligible explanation of the atonement. Other Christians require something more ; they add the idea of a vicarious sacrifice, or some device by which the Heavenly Father may forgive the contrite sinner without impairing the integrity of his own character. *We* say that a free pardon on sincere repentance flows from the eternal perfection of God's character, and is a necessary fact in his moral government of mankind. With the rest



of the Christian world, we believe in mercy, and forgiveness, and faith, and repentance, as constituting the essential ideas that belong to the atonement, and differ from them in rejecting another idea which they have attempted to add, but which they have never yet been able to define to their mutual satisfaction. 'This single example is a sufficient refutation of the charge, that we have no settled or positive theology. We have theology enough, — good, true, Bible theology; and it is a shame to ignore or undervalue it.

And ours is a consistent as well as a positive theology. Its truths do not contradict one another, but have the essential characteristic of a science, — that they support and depend upon one another. The one recommendation of Calvinism is the mutual relation of its parts. Begin where you may, if you admit one point, you must admit the rest. And yet the internal harmony of Calvinism is artificial and mechanical, the correspondence to each other of the parts of a contrivance which man has made, the jointing and dovetailing of human hands, and not the natural dependence upon one another which we observe, for example, in the different portions of a plant. The singular beauty and excellence of our theology is, that its parts cohere with all the solidity, without the technical arrangement, of a system. As in the teaching of Jesus truths lie scattered about in apparent isolation, which a closer study of his life and an insight into his method of instruction show to have affinities that bring them into spiritual order, so do our doctrinal statements, beneath what seems to a superficial observer to be the independence of disconnection, maintain a union among themselves and produce a unity of impression upon the mind of the believer. Around the central fact of man's being, the great truths of Divine beneficence, mercy, and judgment, and all the associated doctrines of the Christian faith, arrange themselves by a law, I will not say, of moral crystallization, but of spiritual attraction.

And while our theology recommends itself to the scientific inquirer by its positive character and its self-consistency, it has the still higher merit of adaptation to the ends for which it is needed. Its moral power is its glory. It is able to make men "wise unto salvation." Presenting truths which the reason may approve and the intellect ponder, still this is not its highest office. It places these truths before the soul in an attitude which compels its submission.

Truths are they, which quicken and invigorate the conscience, warm and cleanse the heart, at once control and sustain the will. A theology, this of ours, for the student in his closet, but not for the man who lives in the world, — for the calm thinker, but not for the man of impetuous feelings and strong passions ! Let him whose propensities need restraint, or who is surrounded by temptation, believe in the presence of a holy God, the majesty of the Divine law, or the claims of infinite love upon the gratitude and obedience of our race, and especially of every one to whom Christ has brought the revelation of the Father, — let him with an intelligent and cordial faith believe in the realities which we offer to his contemplation, and they will and must influence him. He will “stand in awe, and sin not.” The practical character of our belief entitles it to special regard. There is not a truth included among its articles that does not affect the dispositions or habits of the believer. There is not a want of the soul which it does not relieve.

Unitarian theology, therefore, has the three marks by which we distinguish that which is sound and true from the false. But again, if any one ask what are its truths, the answer may be, that they are the truths on which the various bodies of Christians concur. They are the common Christianity of all sects. By our positive views of doctrine, we are brought into sympathy with the universal Church. Where, then, is our peculiar theology ? Why, just here. The peculiarity of our belief consists in our making the Christianity of all denominations the true exposition of the Gospel. It is painful to remark how slow men are in perceiving that our elevation of the current opinions of the Church into the place of essential truths of religion, and our refusal to allow any other opinions to share this distinction, may constitute as decisive a peculiarity as any novelty of statement or vehemence of expression. It is peculiar to us, it distinguishes us, that we make the catholic belief the true belief. If we alone maintain the sufficiency of this belief, what can more distinctly mark us than this very fact ? The substantial difference between us and other Christians, I conceive, lies not so much in diversity of opinion upon certain questions of dogmatic theology as in the recognition by us of the right of every sincere follower of Jesus to the name and hope of a Christian, to whatever denomination he may belong, while others require the exercise or expression of faith

in certain tenets peculiar to themselves. We of course prefer our own interpretation of Scripture, and wish that every one might see with us that it is the proper interpretation ; we consider many of the errors that prevail around us pernicious. But we do not think that any one, whose heart is searched and his life controlled by the great truths which the various Christian bodies accept, can be in fatal error. The essential theology, therefore, according to us, is found in all these bodies ; and this essential theology being, as I have said, that which remains after we have thrown away what gives a special character to the symbols of these several bodies, our peculiarity consists in making the common faith of the Church the essential faith of the believer. This seems to members of other communions a very meagre faith, — nothing but what every Christian believes ! Once concurrence with those who constituted the household of the saints was regarded as a just ground of satisfaction ; but now, unless one add something to the common inheritance, he is thought to have “ denied the faith ” and to be “ worse than an infidel.” It is made of little account to adore the incomprehensible greatness of God, unless one also believes in a certain mode of the Divine existence ; to prostrate one’s self in gratitude before the cross of the Redeemer, unless he accept a particular explanation of the efficacy of his death ; to tremble under the sense of moral responsibility, and the consciousness of sin, unless he admit that we are wholly ruined and incapable of ourselves to take a step towards a holy life ! How is it possible to put greater dishonor on the fundamental truths of religion, than to pronounce them, not only logically incomplete, but morally inadequate ?

I may detain you, brethren, only while, in a very few words, I remind you of the importance of this our peculiar theology. The remarks which were made in an earlier part of this Address were intended to show that some fixed principles of belief are indispensable alike to an individual and to a denomination. There are some considerations that render our doctrinal exposition of Christianity worthy of our fondest regard, to which I may advert in conclusion.

First, it gives us just the unity and force as a denomination which we need. There is no other ground of unity on which we can erect the temple of concord. Attempts have been made again and again to take our love of freedom

as the basis of union ; but it is too broad a basis. It occupies too much ground for the superstructure. Some of us prefer the title of Liberal Christians to any other designation, because it expresses our candor and especially our attachment to the great, miscalled Protestant, principle of the right of private judgment ; but it is not the name by which we may best be described. It does not define, does not limit us enough. If love of religious liberty be the ground of our denominational union, then Christians of every denomination may belong to us ; for there are many in every church who prize their own freedom as dearly, and are as prompt to respect the rights of others, as we. Nay, men of no Christian denomination may belong to us ; for the love of mental freedom may burn in the breasts of those who have not entered into visible connection with any body of believers. Nay, further, free-thinkers of every name and every class, men who stand in antagonism to everything but liberty, may belong to us ; for they may all be actuated by a sincere regard for the rights of thought and of conscience. Now I have no objection to a union of all sorts of men on this basis. It may have its advantages and its pleasures, but the union which we need is of a different kind. Our sympathy and coöperation must have a basis of doctrinal agreement. I care little for the name we may take or be known by ; perhaps it was an unwise choice which, in its result, has doomed us to be called, if we are called by any distinctive appellation, Unitarians. But that our union, our existence as a body acting together in mutual confidence and for certain great purposes, must rest on our theological persuasions, appears to me just as clear as that the union of the States which compose our republic must rest, not on the common love of civil liberty which animates the hearts of the people, nor on any circumstances of geographical position or historical association, but on the principles, the integrity, and the authority of that Constitution which the people of these United States have agreed to take as the expression and security of their political connection.

Hence I find in this basis of union the support of all lawful and laudable sectarian action. I believe that such action is right and best. I believe in sectarianism as a legitimate consequence of an earnest faith. What was told us last evening, by a layman who has looked at these subjects from

a different point of observation from that which we, under professional influences, are apt to take ? He told us — it was not a new thought, but it was a true one — that what a man esteems to be the gospel is his gospel ; and that what he values as God's most precious gift he should be anxious to communicate to others. This is sectarianism, — warm and practical attachment to a certain interpretation of the Christian records, in which an individual agrees with some persons, and differs from others. Of this sectarianism I wish the country and the world were full. I love to see a zealous Methodist. I love to see in a member of the Roman Catholic Church a profound reverence for that Church. Faith, zeal, labor, proselytism, — I can understand, respect, and admire them all ; but I cannot reconcile lukewarmness with a well-settled belief, or with a just appreciation of God's holy and gracious truth. There is a dread of sectarianism which bears so strong a resemblance to religious apathy or moral cowardice, that, if I did not know it belonged to some excellent men, I should mistake it for a vice. Let a man speak and act as if he prized what he receives as Divine truth. Let him desire for others a participation with himself in its comforts and hopes. Let him expend generous and vigorous effort in diffusing around him, through the land, over the world, the doctrines which he associates with the being of a God and the mediation of Christ. Let him join heart and hand with those who accept the same doctrines ; and while he loves all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, let his action be most strenuous, his connection most close, with those with whom he can act most freely, and yet most cordially. Such a sectarianism as this I should rejoice to see on every side. It would make us all better Christians. It would fill the earth with the knowledge of the Lord, and carry out the spirit of the prayer which we learned in our childhood, — “ Thy kingdom come,” — and of that other prayer which was uttered amidst the sympathies of the last night of the Saviour's ministry, — “ I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one.”

For such a sectarianism does not produce bitterness or strife, but, on the contrary, nourishes a spirit of candor and Christian brotherhood. It may sound paradoxical, but I believe it is undeniably true, that an enlightened sectarianism is the root from which must spring a true charity : because an enlightened sectarianism, being founded on an intelligent

acquaintance with both the principles and the grounds of the belief which it cherishes, and also with the principles and grounds of the various forms of belief around it, cannot be betrayed into injustice through ignorance, nor be led into a passionate defence of its own positions by a consciousness of inability to maintain them by calm and clear argument. And further still, it allows and respects in others the rights which it exercises itself, and thinks all the better of a theological opponent for his open and resolute vindication of his own faith. Bigots are generally men of narrow habits of thought, of little study, and very imperfect theological education. A man whose conclusions are the result of careful investigation will seldom be irritated by the remarks of others, and will never deny to them the privilege of independent thought.

But most of all do I value our theological tenets for the spiritual quality and efficacy which I have ascribed to them. They are "the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Beyond any other system of faith or interpretation of the sacred volume are they suited to expand and elevate the affections, to form the character to a solid and lofty excellence, to clothe the soul in the beauty of holiness, and to adorn the life with the graces of piety and philanthropy. Truth is the instrument of human regeneration and perfection. "Sanctify them," said Jesus, "by thy truth." This truth, if we hold it, as I believe we do, more distinctly and exclusively than any other body of Christians, needs only to penetrate our hearts, and lay its mandates on our consciences, to make us children of the Highest, and partakers even now of the inheritance of the saints in light. We have seen what it can exhibit as the fruit of its influence here on earth. We have known those who were worthy to be called after the name of the Divine Teacher and perfect Model of spiritual excellence, who gratefully regarded this truth as the source of all the strength, peace, goodness, or usefulness they had been able to acquire or manifest. The world has never seen examples of a nearer approach to perfection than we have beheld among those who have gone from us. I need not name them. Their remembrance is written on our hearts. By the memories of the departed we are bound to the theology which they used for their souls' improvement and recompense. By our duty to the present and our interest in the future are we also taught to advocate this theology, and to send it abroad

for the good of others. The world waiteth in hope, that "it may be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Here is the means of that deliverance. We look down the ages of coming time, not with the prophet's inspired glance, but with the Christian's clear vision, and we see struggle and conflict, impatience and disappointment, delay and disaster; but we see also, among the elements of confusion and suffering, one form that directs the energies of the people, subdues their restlessness, brings them out of their sorrows, and guides them to God and heaven through the knowledge of the blessed Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ; — and that form is the theology which presides over our deliberations, and animates our sympathies, and determines our efforts.

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#### ART. VIII. — CALIFORNIA.\*

THE list of books given below (it might have been made much longer) will show that there is already quite an extensive Californian literature, — more extensive than valuable. Most of the books which relate to California have been composed from materials collected before the importance of that country was known or anticipated, and the amount of information contained in them is necessarily meagre. They were written rather because a great demand for information had arisen, than because the authors had much to impart. California is a vast region. Only very small portions of it have been thoroughly explored, and immense districts are as yet

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\* 1. *Western America, including California and Oregon, with Maps of those Regions, and of the "Sacramento Valley."* From actual Surveys. By CHARLES WILKES, U. S. N., Commander of the U. S. Exploring Expedition. Philadelphia. 1849. 8vo. pp. 130.

2. *Oregon and California* in 1848. By J. QUINN THORNTON, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Oregon. With an Appendix, including Recent and Authentic Information on the Subject of the Gold Mines of California, and other Valuable Matter of Interest to the Emigrant, &c. : with Illustrations and a Map. New York. 1849. Two vols. 12mo. pp. 393, 397.

3. *The Gold Mines of the Gila. A Sequel to "Old Hicks the Guide."* By CHARLES W. WEBBER, Author of "Jack Long, or Shot in the Eye," etc., etc. New York. 1849. Two vols. 12mo.

4. *The California and Oregon Trail : being Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN, JR. New York. 1849. 12mo. pp. 448.

entirely unknown. We do not propose in this paper to give even a summary of what is really known respecting the harbours, soil, climate, agricultural productions, and physical aspects of the country. We wait till the public shall become more interested in these topics, and our materials more ample and satisfactory. At present a single fact absorbs almost the whole attention of those who think and speak of California, — the fact, namely, that gold abounds there.

It is hardly to be doubted any longer by the most incredulous, that gold exists in California to an extent not surpassed, if equalled, in the history of the precious metals. Every passing week brings confirmation of the fact. On account of the facility of communication, these few months have given us more and better evidence of the mineral resources of California than was obtained in Europe in as many years respecting the wealth of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. Already the spirit of enterprise is directed towards the valley of the Sacramento, with a promptness and energy of movement that are without a parallel in the history of colonization, or mercantile and industrial adventure. It is only about one year since the first official announcement of this discovery of gold; and already, while we write, it is estimated that not fewer than thirty thousand persons from the United States have collected there, or are on their way by the Isthmus, by Cape Horn, or directly across the continent. The western shores of America, the islands of the Pacific, and the East Indies, have sent their multitudes, which we have not the means of estimating. Ships laden with gold-seekers are leaving all the ports of Europe. Before the close of the present season, it is not unlikely that one hundred thousand persons will be found scattered over the gold region, to say nothing of the numbers which, for the general purposes of commerce, must necessarily accompany and follow so large a non-producing population.

So large a movement, for objects so peculiar, presents many points of interest, financial, social, and moral. Many persons look upon it with unqualified reprobation. They see only evil in it, — present infatuation and prospective ruin, derangement of the currency, moral deterioration for all concerned in it, famine, fever, robbery, and death, awaiting the deluded victims of a criminal cupidity and a misdirected spirit of adventure, and the curse of a bad origin fixed for ever upon the future State of California.

We are disposed to take a more hopeful view of the sub-



ject. The evils and dangers are obvious and great. At first we were able to see little else in the prospect. We do not overlook them now ; but it seems to us good philosophy to look beyond them, and consider also what is good and legitimate in an enterprise which Providence plainly indicates as one of the leading movements of the present generation for this country. In making it the subject of some remarks, we wish to contemplate it in a spirit equally removed from narrow timidity and moral laxity, without too much confidence in man, or too much distrust of God.

Gold is one of the good gifts of the Creator, designed, like all his bounties, for human use. Mankind have always attached a high relative value to this metal, on account of its beauty, purity, and the many qualities which give it a great superiority in matters of art and ornament, — these qualities being taken in connection with the fact that the supply has been very limited. It was early adopted as a currency and common measure of value, for which use it has many advantages over other substances ; such as that it comprises large value in a small bulk, is so divisible, is incorruptible by time and exposure, that its purity can be easily tested and verified by coinage, and that it has been less subject than almost any other commodity to be influenced by the causes which produce fluctuation in value. The use of it as money was not what gave it its value ; but it was adopted as money because it had an intrinsic value, and a value more uniform and more universally recognized than any other single product of the ground. It is obvious, that, if the article used as the measure of values should itself vary much and often, all trade would be subject to constant fluctuations of the most disastrous kind. The discoveries in America by the Spaniards so much increased the amount of gold in Europe, according to Mr. Hume, as to reduce it to one fourth or one third of its previous relative value ; or, which is saying the same thing, to raise the prices of all commodities to three or four times their previous point.\* According to Humboldt's estimate, the annual accession of gold to the stock previously existing in Europe was for a long period about \$11,000,000. Mr. Mill says that the fall in the value of gold and silver after the discovery of America is the only authenticated instance in history ; and in that case the change was extremely gradual, being spread over a period of many years.†

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\* Hume's *Essays*, I. p. 308.

† *Polit. Econ.*, II. p. 5.

It has been supposed by some, that the recent discoveries in California will so increase the quantity of the precious metals as to disturb the existing balance of values among all kinds of property. But when we consider that for a series of years the annual production of gold and silver in Europe, America, and Russian Asia has amounted to \$ 30,000,000,\* without causing a perceptible rise in the prices of commodities, and also how small a proportion the product of a year must bear to the whole amount previously extant, and how, on account of the constantly extending population and trade of the world, there is required a constant increase of production in order to keep values where they are, it is plain that any disturbance of the existing scale from this cause must come, if at all, by scarcely perceptible degrees. To desire or to fear any such disturbance would be weakness and folly ; and any speculations based on the anticipation of it, in a period of enthusiasm, would probably but raise another of the series of bubbles, which, in one form or another, have been played off so brilliantly in every age, to the ruin of so many who have chased them.

The increase and diffusive growth of any species of convertible wealth, we have always a right to expect, will promote the welfare of mankind. If these new mines should continue to be as productive as they are alleged to be now, and the quantity of gold in the world should be greatly enlarged thereby, we cannot but presume that in the end it will prove a blessing. When it shall have become distributed through the channels of commerce, and is spread, unrestricted, over the world-wide field of business, we cannot see why it must not contribute, as so much added capital, to the support and invigoration of industry, in subduing the wilderness, enriching the ground, facilitating the transportation and exchange of all products, extending the arts, and so multiplying the various resources for man's earthly well-being. Upon the established principles of political economy, these benefits are to be looked for as the ultimate effect of the opening of any new source of wealth, whether it be gold or anything else, and gold as much as anything else.

The *ultimate* effect, we say. But in the mean time, the past experience of the world abundantly warns us that the process of first acquiring and distributing these golden treasures

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\* See M'Culloch on the Precious Metals.

may be anything but beneficial to the individuals directly engaged in it, or the communities most immediately interested in and affected by the adventure. We cannot overlook the uniform testimony of history, which declares that the industry and enterprise employed directly in searching for the precious metals have certain more demoralizing tendencies than the pursuit of wealth in other modes. In no other pursuit is the acquisition of property supposed to be immediately accompanied by so few of the legitimate benefits of wealth, or by so many of its corrupting effects. "Of all the methods," says the historian Robertson, "by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or who are so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that Fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give up the wealth which they contain to their wishes, they deem every other occupation uninteresting and insipid. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper." This historian represents that the steady, the thrifty, and the contented, being subjected to this powerful temptation, become unsettled in all their plans, are filled with unwonted and inappeasable longings, and lose all their good habits and reasonable ideas for ever. "It is observed," he says, "that if any person once enters this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return; his ideas alter, — he seems to be possessed with another spirit, — visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, — and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else." \* Such warnings are not to be overlooked by those who would survey thoroughly the moral aspects of this leading movement of our day.

We are warned, further, that the country into which a golden stream is most immediately poured is liable to suffer degeneracy and impoverishment under the influence of the acquisition. The case of Spain, if it be of any authority under so great a change of circumstances, is of fearful omen.

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\* Robertson's America, Book VIII.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, Spain was one of the most industrious, thrifty, and powerful nations of Europe. Her mercantile marine was the largest in the world, and her manufactures were in a most flourishing state, while those of France and England were in their infancy. Her decline dates from the period when the supplies of American gold became copious. Her enterprise became a restless, reckless spirit of adventure. "Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, every branch of national industry and improvement, languished and fell to decay ; and the nation, like the Phrygian monarch who turned all that he touched to gold, cursed by the very consummation of its wishes, was poor in the midst of its treasures." \* Spain could not *keep* the gold of whose sources she was mistress. It was no equivalent for the loss of steady and patient industry among her people. Deluded with the idea of unbounded wealth in its most dazzling form, she ran into every extravagance. She had little to sell and much to buy in the markets of the world. She was soon unable to supply the wants of her own gold-producing colonies, who could pay so well for what they wanted ; and that most lucrative colonial trade fell into the hands of the more thrifty nations. Impoverishment necessarily overtook the mother country ; and it is a singular fact, though perfectly explicable, that Philip III., at the time when his mines yielded their largest product, was put to such straits for money, that he issued an arbitrary edict, by which he endeavoured to raise copper money to a value nearly equal to that of silver ; and the absolute lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced by pecuniary distress to the wretched expedient which is always the last resource of petty, impoverished states. †

The other countries of Europe derived a substantial benefit from the golden influx. "It is certain," says Hume, "that, since the discovery of the mines in America, industry has increased in all the nations of Europe except in the possessors of those mines ; and this may justly be ascribed, amongst other reasons, to the increase of gold and silver." ‡ Spain received the treasure too nearly at first hand, — was too near the mines, — was within the vortex of the gold-getting mania. Gold, it would appear, must get some dis-

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\* Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, III. p. 479.

† Robertson's *America*, III. p. 139.

‡ *Essays*, I. p. 302.

tance from its earthy bed, and be merged and washed in the streams of wholesome trade, before it can cease to carry with it an infecting blight, and become a sure benefit. Doubtless there were other causes that contributed to the decay of the Spanish nation, — war, bad legislation, a bad theory of political economy, the Inquisition, and the weakness and ambition of the successors of Charles V. ; but it is universally conceded that the precious metals had a large share of influence in reducing that proud land from the highest point of national grandeur and opulence to its present condition of beggary, anarchy, and insignificance. The gold came in too directly, too suddenly, and too fast.

The commercial system of the world is so changed since the sixteenth century, and the political and industrial condition of the United States is so different from that of Spain at that period, that there may be little reason to apprehend the same evils as likely to arise now from the same causes. We certainly are not alarmed at the prospect. We are willing that our country should take the risk, whatever there may be. We have confidence that the good will outweigh the evil. Still, the same tendencies that have wrought the decay of nations heretofore continue to operate, and always need to be watched. The solemn lessons of history are worth pondering by our citizens and legislators. They never become obsolete.

This Californian movement, whether as a matter of direct gold-hunting or of trade immediately connected with it, is a subject of more than financial interest to our own community at this time. Our neighbours, friends, and kindred are enlisting in it. Many have gone, many have determined to go, and many more are anxiously weighing the exciting question, whether they shall go or not. Visions of the great possibilities of fortune there pass and pause before the minds of multitudes who say little about it yet. Many, right round us, have had their plans of life all suddenly changed by this golden revelation. What shall we say of their enterprise, as regards them personally ?

To us, as calm and prudent lookers-on, the dangers and objections naturally come to mind first, and it is our duty to state them. In all adventures of this nature, it will be found, when the lottery comes to be wound up, that there will have been for the adventurers, personally, some splendid prizes, but many dismal blanks, and worse than blanks. The pas-

sage itself to California, whether by land or sea, is as yet full of difficulty and hazard. Mournful and despairing accounts reach us from hundreds, detained, for want of money or ships, at the Isthmus of Panamá. It is feared that sad intelligence of sickness and suffering is yet to come from the crowded ships that have left the Atlantic ports for a five months' voyage round Cape Horn. And already we hear, from the inland routes, of companies broken up by disease, famine, and quarrel. The return-current has begun. Many, discouraged, impoverished, and shattered in health, are on their way home.

Of those who reach California, the change of climate and of habits will be fatal to not a few. The hardships, exposures, privations, diseases, incident to a wandering sort of residence in an unsettled region, where much thought cannot be afforded upon matters of dwelling, food, and clothing, where the means of decent living cannot always be had, and where the necessary precautions are likely to be forgotten or despised in the ardor of the one seductive pursuit, will for a large number be too severe a trial.

We should expect, from the nature of the case, — and the accounts already received justify the expectation but too well, — that desperate ruffians and cutthroats of all nations and races will be gathered there, and that many who had been peaceable before will become desperate and dangerous in the frenzy of the pursuit. Law, we are assured, however enacted and proclaimed, will be slow in getting a practical footing there, so as to protect property and life, and keep the peace. The miners will multiply fast, and all having equal rights in every spot, — that is, no legal rights at all, — it is feared that they will soon crowd and interfere, and deadly affrays ensue. The vices incident to a lawless, undomestic, irresponsible aggregation of men, without the presence of woman or anything that can be properly called society, will have many victims. For more than half the year, the labor of collecting the metal must be suspended, as we are informed, and this leisure, with few resources for profitable employment or healthful recreation, will afford fearful temptations to gambling and drinking, and kindred vices ; and in such a miscellaneous assemblage there must be many proficient in evil, eager and competent to initiate the rest. Plunder, one would suppose, must become organized into a system in so alluring a field, — gold is so tempting an ob-

ject, has so much value in so small bulk. The unscrupulous will share the same mania as the honest, the lazy the same as the industrious ; and we hear already the tales of robbery and murder which warn us that many a man, having won his treasure, and thinking himself enriched for life, will part with his hoard and leave his body to the vultures in the wilderness. Many of the adventurers, it is to be presumed, will return to the places from which they went out. Of these, it may be safely predicted, not a few will come empty, baffled, disappointed ; some having been prevented by sickness, or other incapacity or impediment, from making any acquisition, some broken down in constitution, some lost to virtue and peace, and others stripped of their store by misplaced confidence, or open violence, or their own carelessness and waste. And even of those who will return successful, rich, and satisfied, to be the envy of thousands whom they had left plodding here behind, some wise persons — perhaps they will be deemed overwise — sagely doubt whether their great and sudden gains will prove a blessing to them generally. It is thought that persons who achieve wealth amid such circumstances and under the influence of such a spirit are the least likely of all men to have the knowledge, tastes, or habits which would enable them so to use and enjoy it as to derive from it happiness and respectability for themselves, or confer a real benefit by it on their families, friends, and the community. The riches gained thus, implying a revolution and entire unsettling of the mind by the spirit and process of acquiring them, it is said, will generally fit badly the possessor, and not wear well. Only the wealth, little or much, that is obtained by regular industry and enterprise, by moderate gains or natural inheritance, and without the feverish hurry and nervous grasping of covetousness spurred on by envy, ambition, vanity, and manifold discontent, — only that can be expected to bring a true blessing with it to its owner.

These considerations are of so grave a character that they ought not to be overlooked amid the enthusiasm of the time. Probably with a majority of those who may entertain the idea of an expedition to the gold region, they ought to be conclusive. Men who have ties and obligations at home, and other avocations alien from those of such adventure, and the means through accustomed industry of a comfortable, however frugal and modest, livelihood in a land of steady habits, should consider that they have all that God's word

or providence encourages man to demand. They should weigh the subject long and seriously before they throw up all, and enter within the sweep of that perilous whirlpool, and stake everything upon so fearful a hazard.

This, we are aware, however, is but a partial view of the matter. The difficulties and drawbacks are great and real, — sufficient to decide the question for many ; but they are not the whole of the case. After all, California does at this moment present one of the fairest fields for adventure that is now open to the energetic races of mankind. It has its powerful claims. There are persons, here and everywhere, whose circumstances, habits, and wants adapt them to that sphere of action, and fit them to take the risk of its perils, its failures, and its successes. We have no sympathy with the sweeping denunciation, which we sometimes hear, of the whole enterprise, with all its fruits, all its prospects, and all those who engage in it. It is not all madness, unless we take the ground that all attempts to develop the resources of the earth and appropriate them to human uses are madness. We cannot but think there is some slight bigotry and narrowness in the idea, that gold is so much more dangerous and corrupting than other forms of property, or that the direct pursuit of it is necessarily and always a proof of greater worldliness and cupidity than the more indirect pursuit of it which goes on in some other modes of active business. Gold is not hoarded in our days. Modern avarice does not employ itself in counting coin. Gold is not considered peculiarly wealth, any more than iron or corn. It is as speedily and as willingly exchanged for houses and lands. It is the uncertainty attending the pursuit that makes gold-hunting especially demoralizing, and that is an evil which it shares with many other pursuits that are considered legitimate. We feel bound to make some little abatements from the fearful warnings quoted in the preceding pages. It is the hunting for gold where it is doubtful whether there is any that is so demoralizing.

For ourselves, we certainly hold that the barren sands of Plymouth, hallowed by the footsteps and the prayers of the heroic pilgrims, and planted with their holy wisdom, continue more prolific of all worldly blessings than the auriferous sands of California will ever become. The *Merri-mac*, the *Connecticut*, and the *Charles*, with industry, intelligence, and household love and peace clothing their banks,



are better than all the waters of the Sacramento and the Gila. But what then? All men are not contented with a good condition. Some must have a change, though there be great risk that it will be for the worse. Labor in the old familiar fields and workshops is to them tame and dull. They do not enjoy these homebred affections and comforts. All the blessings of society, plenty, order, and religion which surround them do not make them happy. With or without a California to go to, they are discontented and uneasy. Under the influence of this restless spirit, the sons of New England have gone to every other accessible corner of the globe, and why should not some of them go to California? It is the same restlessness that has always been a characteristic of the strong races, those who have had power in the world, and have extended the dominion of man over nature. It is the same unreasonable discontent that has been one main element in all great and effective movements of colonization and discovery. The same spirit that planted New England, and has made her what she is, is yet alive, and is now hurrying so many of her children away on that career of distant adventure. We cannot wonder nor mourn. We certainly do not wish the spirit to die out, and if it remain we must expect it to do many things which look reckless in advance, and which we would not recommend. It wants restraint rather than impetus with our people, yet it is philosophical to recognize it, and to allow it some scope. There is a higher spirit which we could wish to have prevail, — a spirit which we trust is to characterize some future style of Christian civilization; yet we fear that, if the existing spirit out of which Californian enterprises spring were to cease now, it would be to give place to a lower and worse one, rather than a higher and better.

With respect to a large proportion of the persons who have gone, or are going, to seek a share of this new-found treasure, if we were called on to advise, we should say, Go not. As a matter of advice, we should but rarely say, Go. But all advice is grounded on prudence. It is the office of advisers, as such, to present only prudential considerations, to show what is safe, expedient, obligatory, or profitable, and to warn men against unnecessary hazards and precarious novelties. It would be well if prudence had more influence in worldly affairs. But we cannot expect, and we ought not to desire, that it should preside over all human actions;

for then nothing new and great would ever be achieved. No new enterprise is prudent. There are enterprises that must originate from courage and high daring, a sagacity that goes before prudence, starts without its approbation, but only taking it along to regulate the details of the movement which it did not recommend. Prudence originates nothing, — has no inspiration, — never conceived anything great, — and, if it had entire control, would have prevented the most important steps in the history of human progress. Prudence is very essential. It comprises the half of wisdom, but not the whole. It is fairly entitled to full one half of the empire of the world. But if it ruled alone, the race would have continued in imbecile infancy. It was not prudence that brought Columbus to the New World, or our fathers to Plymouth, or dictated the Declaration of Independence, or drew Washington from his safe and easy retirement ; or, to take instances of a selfish and money-making kind, like that which we are discussing, it was not prudence that projected the first whaling voyage, or the first steamboat, or railroad, or factory. The prosperity of New England is the result of projects which prudent men universally discountenanced and shunned at first. Prudence comes in afterwards, and uses and continues what another spirit first achieved with risk, and made easy by sacrifices, and completed amid difficulty and doubt by energy and bold decision. The leaders in new enterprises are commonly the victims of their zeal and courage ; but the world gains, and it is necessary that there should be such men, — men in whom other qualities predominate over prudence. We cannot but deplore what seems the foolhardiness of many individuals engaging in this Californian adventure ; persons who are not fit to go, who have no need to go, who sunder sacred ties and cast off sacred obligations by going, who have nothing to gain and every thing to lose. But as to the movement, in a general view of it, looking upon it as philosophical spectators, and measuring it on the large scale, we regard it as occurring necessarily, in the order of Providence, and according to important and fixed laws in the human mind ; and we acquiesce in it. It is to open and settle the western side of the continent, construct harbours and cities on the Pacific shore, make roads across the wilderness, provide new fields for labor and commerce, and new homes for mankind. We anticipate great good from it. The disasters and failures which we expect

to hear of as overtaking individuals and companies will not shake our faith in the legitimacy of the enterprise, as designed under God to carry forward the interests of humanity. We shall watch its progress with intense interest, and hopes not soon nor easily disheartened.

California itself, we trust, is destined to become a powerful and well-ordered Christian state or empire. It will survive the bad auspices of its origin. Slavery, whether forbidden or not by law of Congress, will never exist there. The great number of intelligent, industrious, and moral citizens repairing thither from our Northern States, (and others as good, for aught we know, from other quarters,) will create a strong, and, we think, *ultimately* prevailing influence in favor of order, industry, and morality. As long as the gold lasts, the labors of agriculture and the useful arts, which are so much more healthful to the individual mind and to the body politic, and which are absolutely essential to the true prosperity of any state, will be neglected. But when the gold has been all gathered and dispersed, or, what is nearly the same in effect, when the mining of it has become, as it will, a regular pursuit, with a steady and moderate profit, then California, with the adjacent provinces, American or Mexican, which will share its fortunes, will flourish. There are better elements among these emigrants than is commonly supposed or acknowledged. While many are hurried to the mines by reckless folly, or feverish cupidity, or desperate fortunes, we are sure there must be thousands there of strong and well-principled men, whose labors are hallowed by indwelling thoughts of home-bound ties, and of future usefulness and respectability, by religious memories, moral purposes, and dear affections, such as redeem from the character of brutish drudgery so much of the toil of men in other and ordinary pursuits. The better elements will predominate in the end, and the Pacific side of the continent, however for a time it may be, to a fearful extent, the scene of suffering, anarchy, and the worst passions of men, we believe, will eventually match and respond to the Atlantic side in all the desirable traits and possessions of a progressive civilization. G. P.

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## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

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*Essays and Tales*, by JOHN STERLING. *Collected and Edited, with a Memoir of his Life*, by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A., Rector of Herstmonceux. London: Parker. 1848. Two vols. 12mo. pp. ccxxxii., 504, 649.

It is only as a poet and an essayist that Sterling has been known in this country. Very few of his readers here have been aware that he sustained for a short period the office of a curate in the English Church. There is but little of personal interest in his life, apart from his position in that strife and struggle of opinions which has within the last few years quickened the proverbial apathy of the English ecclesiastical establishment. Sterling died in 1844, in his thirty-ninth year. He was always an invalid, and through much of his life a wanderer from friends and wife and children for health. In his early years he was much under the influence of Coleridge, and when at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was a pupil of his biographer, whose intimacy with him then commenced, and ripened in following years into respect and affectionate friendship. To this friendship, hardly qualified by the adoption of opinions on the part of Sterling which were offensive and highly objectionable to Archdeacon Hare, we are to ascribe the assumption by the latter of the office of editor and biographer.

Sterling's religious opinions, perhaps, never accorded with those which are required in the standards of the English Church. He had from the beginning strong liberal tendencies, which had amounted almost to skepticism, — yielded to, and apparently, though not actually, surmounted, when Archdeacon Hare, who was not then fully informed of the state of his friend's mind, invited him while in Germany to become his curate at Herstmonceux. He was accordingly ordained Deacon in June, 1834; and as his consumptive tendencies obliged him to resign his ministry after six months, he never received priest's orders. Between roaming for health, and spending intervals of partial restoration in literary composition, his few remaining years were passed in excitements and disappointments, — the death of his wife, a year before his own, leaving him with the care of five children. The short period of his ministerial life was happy and useful; the poor and the young were the especial objects of his love. Mr. Hare says, that, when he surrendered the practical duties of his profession,

and ceased to apply the doctrines and lessons of the Gospel directly to the hearts of human beings, he again devoted himself to those speculations which had once before embarrassed and clouded his faith. Coleridge, Arnold, Bunsen, Carlyle, Hare, Blanco White, Maurice, and his brother-in-law, Sterling, are the representatives of a state of opinion in England, the results of which are yet to be developed. Strangely diverse in all other points of view as these men have been or may be, there is between them a mental likeness, founded in a similarity of intellectual experience, in a common dissatisfaction with old formulas of inspiration, and in an unsettled state of opinion which looks only to some great religious movement in the future for relief. As to the extent of Sterling's speculative unbelief in historical Christianity, his biographer does not distinctly inform us. It is evident, however, that speculation and philosophy, so called, involved him in that painful and restless struggle between faith and doubt which is the inevitable lot of those who hesitate whether to accord a fuller inspiration to their own intuitions or to the revelation of God by Jesus Christ.

The Memoir in these volumes is largely composed of Sterling's own letters, and these are of deep interest, as they disclose a pure and loving heart, and impress us with the evident excellences and virtues and natural talents of the writer. We can well conceive that Sterling's friends must have entertained for him an ardent attachment and a most loving regard. From his dying couch, just before he expired, he wrote and gave to his sister the two following stanzas.

"Could we but hear all nature's voice,  
From glowworm up to sun,  
'T would speak with one concordant sound, —  
'Thy will, O God, be done !'

"But hark, a sadder, mightier prayer'  
From all men's hearts that live, —  
Thy will be done in earth and heaven,  
And Thou my sins forgive."

The prose writings of Sterling, gathered principally from the papers and magazines to which he contributed, are printed in these volumes. They have not the charm and vigor of his letters, and often show a straining after conceit, and an exaggerated and unhealthy individualism. As might have been expected, Archdeacon Hare has drawn upon himself severe censure for this labor of friendship. His own heresies and his previously equivocal position in the conflict of opinions, have furnished material for an assault, an occasion for which has been readily seized upon in his editing of these volumes. The twentieth number of "*The English Review*," last December, attacked him for writing the life

and for editing the writings of "an infidel." He replied with severity, in a pamphlet entitled "Thou shalt not bear False Witness against thy Neighbour," to which the succeeding number of the Review makes a rejoinder.

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*The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations. An Essay towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the true Basis of Theology.*

By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN, formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. London: John Chapman. 1849. 12mo. pp. 222.

IN relation to the professed and main design of the writer, we regard this work on the philosophy of religion as a valuable contribution to theology. It is the production of a clear, discriminating, independent mind, expressing itself without the slightest reserve. The author has given his thoughts on six topics, — The Sense of the Infinite without us; The Sense of Sin; The Sense of Personal Relation to God; Spiritual Progress; Hopes concerning a Future Life; and Prospects of Christianity. They are thoughts which will be interesting and profitable to every one who is in the habit of speculating upon the subject of religion. The general character of the author's opinions may be briefly included in the phrase, *spiritual and experimental deism*. He is earnest in opposition to pantheism and pantheistic tendencies. We are sorry to add, that, while his views on most of the subjects on which he treats harmonize with those of Christ, he is strongly opposed to Christianity as a religion of authority. For faith in the future life, resting on the declarations of the Son of God, he would substitute aspirations and hopes, which he acknowledges are all that, on his views of the sources of religious faith, he can attain. He even regards the common view of Christianity as resting on authority, even the authority of Christ, as one of the greatest obstacles to its prevalence and power in the world. Religion, he thinks, can never resume her pristine vigor until she appeals only to the soul. But he has not shown, or attempted to show, that the great lights of the Church, the most spiritual and experimental teachers of Christianity, who, in successive ages, have relied on Christ as imparting authority to their hopes and aspirations, have been less earnest or less successful in appealing to the soul, or in awakening and strengthening the religious feelings of our nature, than those few in modern times who deny any peculiar authority to Christ. We regard the last two parts of the book, in which he speaks of the future life, and of the prospects of Christianity and the causes of infidelity, as unsatisfactory, one-sided, and in many respects erroneous. At the same time, we recommend to every clergyman to read

the book. It will suggest to him many valuable thoughts. It may be regarded as one of the signs of the times, that this work, as also that of Froude, noticed in our present number, comes from the ancient University of Oxford. Circumstances of this kind lead one to entertain a hope that the state of theology in the mother country, and in our own, will not be exactly what it is now.

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*Grammar of the Latin Language.* By LEONHARD SCHMITZ, Ph. D., F. R. S., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. Philadelphia. 1849. 12mo. pp. 318.

THE editor says in his Introduction, — “The Latin language is neither a daughter of the Greek nor a mixture of any other languages, the resemblance with Greek, German, Celtic, and others, arising from the simple fact that it is a sister of them.”

We have always considered the Latin language placed at the head of a family, rather with regard to its numerous descendants than to its origin, it being too evidently derived from the Celtic mixed with Greek to require particular comparison. Its character as a derivative language may be observed in the adoption of insulated terms, independently of the simple words from which they are deduced. Thus we have *ventus*, ‘wind,’ without any Latin etymology; in the German, on the contrary, we have *wehe*, ‘blow,’ whence *wehend* and *wind*; in Cimbric, *giugnt* or *vent*.

The manner in which the editor has stated and explained the phenomena of the Latin language is satisfactory; he has endeavoured, not only to express the facts most concisely and clearly, but also, as far as possible, to explain and give reasons for the facts as stated. His authorities are good: Ramshorn, Zumpt, Key, and Madvig, to whom he often refers, are powerful names to lean upon.

So far as the editor is concerned in the preparation of this volume, we are ready to recommend it. But how have the publishers done their part? Very shabbily, we think. The paper is thin and dingy, the type so small and crowded that no teacher, with the faintest regard for the eyes of his pupil, will ever put such a volume into his hands. Many of the Philadelphia publishers, Messrs. Lea & Blanchard included, are half a century behind the age in the printing of their books.

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*The Incarnation; or Pictures of the Virgin and her Son.* By CHARLES BEECHER. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. 16mo. pp. 223.

THE design of this book is to reproduce, as fresh realities, in the minds of its readers, the principal events connected with the

earthly career of our Saviour. The author's success is but small. The theological groundwork of his descriptions is inconsistent with a correct interpretation of the Scriptures, and is an offence alike to reason, to reverence, and to piety. His style defies nearly every canon of good taste. With all its faults, however, the book has decided merits. It contains evident marks of power, and promises better things. Mr. Beecher will be able to write works really worthy of being noticed. He will learn that a heated fancy is not a penetrative imagination, that blank verse is not good prose, and that, however commendable a Christian spirit and an earnest purpose are, yet, for the production of a book that shall be worth publication, there must be joined with them conscientious patience of thought.

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*A Letter of the Celebrated JOHN FOSTER to a Young Minister, on the Duration of Future Punishment: with an Introduction and Notes, consisting chiefly of Extracts from Orthodox Writers, and an Earnest Appeal to the American Tract Society in Regard to the Character of its Publications.* Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 119.

THE value of this pamphlet might be estimated in the arena of controversy, either with reference to the religious communion to which its anonymous author may belong, or by a decision formed on its own merits. By the former criterion for judging it, if it come from one of the "Orthodox," so called, it will have a much higher importance than if it be written by a Universalist. We have no other clew to its authorship than the writer himself incidentally furnishes us, when he professes to be a contributor to the funds of the American Tract Society, and a purchaser and distributor of its publications (p. 59). We have been gratified by the method and the matter of the pamphlet, and especially so with its spirit, which is dignified, serious, and every way commendable.

The famous Letter in which the excellent John Foster expressed so powerfully his doubts, and the reasons for them, on the Calvinistic view of the duration of future punishment, is introduced by a series of pertinent extracts from reviews and comments, in which Mr. Foster's life and character and opinions are discussed by "Orthodox writers." After the Letter follows an Appendix, in three divisions, containing extracts from the writings of believers in endless punishment, an extract from a letter of Mr. Foster to the Rev. Dr. Harris, with a note upon it by the latter, and extracts from writers supposed to receive the doctrine of endless punishment, — showing to what an extent



a disbelief in that doctrine prevails in Great Britain, Germany, and our own country. The extracts are judiciously chosen, and the notes and comments of the compiler are pertinent to the theme.

The Appeal to the Tract Society is based upon its own official statements of the extent of its operations, and upon its professions that the greatest caution and discretion are exercised upon its publications. The writer, notwithstanding, argues that its publications require a rigid revision; that they are often offensive and injudicious; that they abound in gross material representations of future retribution, make an unfair use of names, and indicate a want of the very oversight which is so emphatically claimed as the ground of public confidence. One publication, extensively circulated, under the title of "The Peep of Day," is most deliberately criticized, with a keen severity, but with admirable temper, and is proved to be a gross parody of Scripture, utterly unworthy of the sacred use for which it is designed, as the foundation of a Christian education in the mind of a child.

We infer that the compiler and author of this pamphlet is attached by general sympathies, or by association and interest, to some Orthodox communion, and we shall hope that his calm and good-tempered Appeal will draw forth some response, and insure for it as proper a tone and spirit.

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*The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature.* By ROBERT HUNT, Author of *Researches on Light*, etc. London: Reeve, Benham, & Reeve. 1848. 8vo. pp. 463.

A WRITER must have rare gifts of imagination and taste to succeed in an undertaking such as the title of this book indicates. He must be in constant danger of sacrificing poetry to science, or science to poetry, according as the one or the other element predominates in his own nature. Mr. Hunt's danger lies in the former direction, and he has presented us with a very clear and interesting sketch of the chief facts in the science of nature, and a very moderate proportion of the ideal. There is, indeed, at the close of his chapters, occasionally a beautiful simile or an eloquent moral. But generally his simple statements of facts or principles must suggest to readers of ordinary imagination at least quite as many and as significant poetic analogies as any which he expressly elaborates. But notwithstanding all his quotations from the poets and images from the classics, a simple and comprehensive survey of the domain of physical science, such as Mrs. Somerville has given us in her well-

known work, seems far more worthy of the title which Mr. Hunt has appropriated than his own book.

The portion of the volume that interests us most is the chapter on *Actinism*, or the chemical principle in the solar ray, which, in connection with light and heat, completes the mighty trio that unite in the sunbeam. This power, although generally combined with light and heat, may be separated from them, so that a Daguerreotype may be taken literally in the dark. To its predominance in spring, the germination of vegetable life is in the main ascribed, whilst the light-principle prevails in summer, and the heat in autumn, and thus the plant, germinating in spring, shoots up freely in summer, and its fruit is ripened in autumn. It would not require a very extravagant Swedenborgian to suggest analogies between these constituents of the solar ray and the elements of our moral and intellectual nature in themselves and in their developments.

After reading this book we took occasion to attend a course of experimental lectures on chemistry, conducted by as successful a manipulator as we have ever known,— we mean Professor Chace, of Brown University. There was something in the exhibition of the simple constituent elements of nature, especially in those four master powers, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon, that seemed like a perpetual miracle. These forces, ever fresh, ever presenting the same proportions, the same affinities, the same inexhaustible powers, so impressed us, that the lecturer's table of retorts and receivers seemed to us altogether a more poetical affair than the elaborate and exquisitely printed volume which we have so briefly noticed.

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*Manual of Ancient Geography and History.* By WILHELM PÜTZ, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren. Translated from the German. Edited by the Rev. THOMAS KECHEVER ARNOLD, M. A., Rector of Lyndon, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised and corrected from the London Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 396.

THE American edition of this valuable little work is edited by Professor Greene, of Providence, R. I., and is designed as a general introduction to a series of historical works now in course of preparation by that gentleman. For such an undertaking Mr. Greene is peculiarly fitted by taste, habits, and education; and we take great pleasure in commending his plan to the favorable notice of our readers. History is not taught at school, either in this country or abroad, as generally nor as thoroughly

as it should be. Indeed, the great majority of children, who pass through our public and private schools with credit, and acquire considerable proficiency in other branches, are lamentably deficient in their knowledge of historical facts and personages. We gladly welcome, therefore, any attempt to introduce the study more generally into our schools by the publication of books adapted to that purpose.

The present volume contains a succinct but clear account of the geography and history of all the principal nations of antiquity, with a chronological table, and a body of questions upon the text for the assistance of teachers. The plan is well conceived and, in general, faithfully executed, — displaying a thorough scholarship on the part of the author. We notice, however, a few inaccuracies, which have evidently slipped through the hands of the editors. Thus we are told, — “Notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, the Assyrians never attained a high state of civilization.” Mr. Layard’s recent researches have entirely disproved this assertion. The dates in the chronological table, too, are, in one or two instances, slightly apocryphal; but, on the whole, the volume is the best of the kind with which we are acquainted, and may be profitably used either as a text-book or as a manual for reference.

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*Elements of Moral Science.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., President of Brown University. Abridged, and adapted to the Use of Schools and Academies, by the Author. Twenty-sixth Thousand, revised. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 18mo. pp. 212.

THE author of this work, which, as the Preface informs us, “has been not merely *abridged*, but also *rewritten*,” has, perhaps, more than any other writer, identified himself with moral science in this country. The man himself, and the style of all his productions, seem always to indicate something of the simplicity and grandeur of the moral sentiment. He is not a suggestive, but most clear and expressive writer. That view of language which would maintain its inadequacy to convey any settled and unequivocal meaning finds little countenance in anything he has composed, for it would be difficult indeed to discover more than a single sense in any clause or paragraph. He must be a good teacher, as his works are admirably fitted to the purposes of instruction. We remember nothing in the lucid expositions of this little treatise from which we seriously dissent. It does not adventure into the region of any new or hasty propositions, does not reflect upon us the dazzling and dubious colors of

any "new light," — but it does urge with great wisdom and force upon the conscience the recognized and indisputable principles of moral obligation, and, in its wide circulation among the youth of our land, we rejoice to believe it is doing substantial good.

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*Consolatio ; or Comfort for the Afflicted. With a Preface and Notes.* By the Rev. P. H. GREENLEAF, M. A. Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 248.

THIS volume is a reprint of an English compilation, which, as appears from Mr. Greenleaf's Preface, was the work of a female mind and pen, during the trying experiences of a severe and a protracted illness. It consists of devout meditations, Scripture lessons and counsels, and instructions of an elevated devotional character, all bearing upon the painful experiences of the mortal lot. The names of the respective authors of the extracts are not attached to them, and we have only the general information in the Preface that they are from the writings of Thomas-à-Kempis, Leighton, Taylor, Cecil, Wilberforce, Hall, Manning, and others.

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✓ *Echoes of Infant Voices.* Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1849. 12mo. pp. 144.

TREASURES of poetry, designed for the comfort of bereaved and sorrowing parents, are gathered in this little volume. The selection has been made with taste and right feeling. Thirty-seven pieces, mostly complete in themselves, are given from authors whose consolatory strains have had the trial of their own experience, and the test of a general approbation.

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*Friends in Council. A Series of Readings and Discourses thereon.* Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 236.

WE are glad to see this book reprinted here. We had read and enjoyed it long ago. It contains essays on the following subjects : — Truth, Conformity, Despair, Recreation, Greatness, Fiction, The Art of Living with Others, Education, Unreasonable Claims in Social Affections and Relations, Public Improvements, History. Each essay is followed by a spirited conversation among three literary friends, who certainly talk well. The matter has the moderation and chasteness of the older English essayists, but yet is the fresh result of modern thinking. The volume has wisdom without dulness, and is sprightly without para-

dox or atheism. It is of the nutritive and wholesome class of books. The author has a happy way of evincing mental independence and a high culture, without revolutionizing the English language, or scoffing at the wisdom previously extant in the world. The volume, though anonymous, is understood to be the work of Mr. Helps, who is also the anonymous author of the "Essays written in the Intervals of Business," and of "The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen."

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*Sacred Rhetoric; or Composition and Delivery of Sermons.*

By HENRY J. RIPLEY, Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Duties in the Newton Theological Institution. *To which are added Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching.* By HENRY WARE, Jr., D. D. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 12mo. pp. 260.

FROM a cursory examination of this volume, which is all we have had time to bestow upon it, we judge that it is admirably suited to its design. We are accustomed to regard oratory as one of those gifts or accomplishments which are to be ascribed to nature or to self-culture, and which can be but little helped by books or teachers. Professor Ripley devotes far the larger portion of his volume, very wisely, to instruction concerning the composition of sermons. His long experience, his most faithful and devoted labors as a teacher of candidates for the ministry, and his well-proved zeal in his sacred calling, invest his lessons with authority. There are wise and profitable counsels in his book, which will help preachers as well as candidates. Indeed, it has occurred to us that its perusal would benefit even the hearers of sermons, and make them appreciate better the labors of their religious teachers. The "Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching" need no further commendation in our pages.

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*Memoir of HIRAM WITHINGTON, with Selections from his Sermons and Correspondence.* Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1849. 16mo. pp. 190.

THIS book will meet with a cordial welcome from many hearts, — the many who knew and watched the life it so vividly portrays. They will be glad to have that life made thus again to pass before them, though it freshen within them painful regrets that it has passed away. It is the memorial of one who inspired an uncommon depth and liveliness of interest in all who shared his friendship; who won, in his too brief career, as few have done

in more extended ones, a large place in the confidence and esteem of associates and acquaintance. And to all these this little work, prepared by one who knew him most intimately and appreciatingly, this "service of affection," as he styles it, and which we can well believe it is, will be a treasured memento. And we cannot but express our appreciation of the good taste and judgment evinced by the writer of the Memoir, in the use of the materials afforded him, as well as in the candor and faithfulness of the remarks and suggestions which accompany and connect them; and also of the delicacy of forbearance which led to the omission of all direct encomium, when the partialities of a strong personal attachment must have urged to it. We honor the truthfulness — and the more because it is so rare — which has not refrained from allusion to failings, or at least errors, of his friend, the knowledge of which cannot but lessen somewhat the satisfaction with which his life's course and ending are contemplated. Rightly, as well as kindly, are they referred to an all-absorbing devotedness to the duties of his calling; and yet it is not to be concealed, and Mr. Withington himself too late discovered it, that duty, better understood, would have counselled a different course. It is no easy task to speak of a dear, departed friend, one's love and esteem for whom he would have shared by others, and at the same time be simply and only true. This the writer of the Memoir before us, we think, has done. He has presented its subject as he was. The lights and *shades* of character appear. The former, indeed, greatly predominating, as in truth they did; so that his refined tastes, his elevated aims, his genuine spirituality, his self-regardless exertions for others' good, his manly simplicity and sincerity, — these and kindred traits, which made his short life rich, not in promise only, but in actual power, — compose the features of the mental image which is impressed upon the reader's mind.

The "Selections" from sermons and other manuscripts are excellent. They relate to most interesting and important themes, and bespeak an eminently serious and earnest, as well as a highly spiritual and poetic mind. They fully sustain the idea of their author's ability and spirit which the Memoir would lead one to form; and do justice, to as great a degree, probably, as was possible by such scanty extracts, to the quality and attainments of his mental and moral being.

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*Kavanagh, a Tale.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.  
Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1849. 16mo. pp. 188.

THE quality of Mr. Longfellow's genius is so generally appreciated, his rank, by common consent, is so clearly settled,

and his merits so heartily acknowledged, that any formal criticism of his powers at this time would be superfluous. The predominant feeling which the announcement of a new book from his pen excites in cultivated readers is gratitude, and this feeling the perusal of "Kavanagh" will not disturb. As a literary work, it will confirm rather than increase the author's reputation. Those who expected a novel which would illustrate New England character and life have not been gratified. "Kavanagh" is a sketch, and not properly a rounded and completed story. The characters are outlined rather than painted, and the main interest of the book lies in its transparent moral. It teaches two things: the value to an artist of spiritual insight into common life, and the necessity of promptness and decision if we would realize our aspirations. It is a powerful sermon from the text which Kavanagh wrote on the inside of his study door, —

"Are you in earnest? Seize this very minute!  
What you can do, or think you can, begin it!  
Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it!  
Only engage, and then the mind grows heated:  
Begin it, and the work will be completed."

There is no tinge of unnaturalness in the incidents of the narrative. It is not toned above the key of ordinary experience. But only those who have read it, or who have vivid recollections of the author's "Hyperion," can understand the peculiar charm which the purity of style, the sweet, mellow rhythm of the sentences, affluence of fancy, felicitous exhibition of curious learning, and delicacy and healthiness of sentiment combine to throw over every page. Mr. Longfellow should be heartily commended for showing in this volume, as also in "Evangeline," that the most delightful æsthetic fascination is entirely consistent with a strong moral purpose and Christian purity of thought. Besides the intellectual pleasure which its pages will bestow, the perusal of "Kavanagh" will convey a musical warning into many a conscience, and inspire better resolutions into dreamy and inactive souls.

Perhaps it is not amiss to say that the quaint, bold sermon which is attributed to Mr. Pendexter, upon leaving his parish, is not an imaginary discourse. We have seen a printed copy of the original, and it deserves to be mentioned, that the clergyman who really preached it, and who supposed it would be his last in the parish to which he ministered, did remain with them some years longer. We take leave of "Kavanagh" with an expression of the hope that its accomplished author may long enjoy, without interruption and without shadow, the inward reward which genius merits when it is pledged to pure and noble aims.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Mission to Children.* — Meetings were held in this city, at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour (Rev. Mr. Waterston's), on the 2d and the 9th of May, to consider a proposal for establishing among us a mission to neglected children. The suggestion was originally made a year ago, at one of the Union Meetings of Sunday School teachers, but it has now resulted in some promising and hopeful measures. The great interest which the proposal excited may be inferred from the names of those who took part in its discussion, as follow : — Rev. Dr. Gannett, Rev. Messrs. Lothrop, Barnard, Brooks, Bartol, Edmunds (of the Christian Church in Sea Street), Waterston, Coolidge, Fox, Huntington, and Holland, and Messrs. Grant, Rogers, Fearing, Cobb, Greene, Merrill, Means, Clarke, Reed, and others. The result was the formation of an association, the object of which is to rescue, serve, and benefit neglected children. Of the necessity of such efforts, the reports of the City Marshal, and the statements made by Rev. C. F. Barnard, whose faithful labors in this field for seventeen years qualify him to speak with feeling and full authority, afford most painful testimony. It is designed that the funds for the support of this charity shall be contributed by the pupils of our own Sunday Schools. There was peculiar weight in the suggestion made by Rev. Dr. Gannett, that the children should contribute their own little gifts, at the expense of some self-denial, rather than be nominal bestowers of funds passed through their hands by their parents.

The Superintendents of our Sunday Schools are to constitute a Central Board, who shall annually, on the first Wednesday of May, elect from their own number a President, Secretary, and Treasurer, and two others out of their body, to constitute together an Executive Committee.

Fifteen Sunday Schools have entered into this plan. At a meeting of the Superintendents of thirteen of them, on May 11th, J. G. Williams, Esq., of the Stone Chapel Sunday School, was chosen President of the Children's Mission; B. H. Greene, Esq., of the Suffolk Street School, Treasurer; George Merrill, of the Harvard Sabbath School, Secretary; and Rev. R. C. Waterston and Elder Edward Edmunds, the other two members of the Committee.

The Committee have chosen Mr. Joseph Barry, who has for some time been engaged in Christian labors among the poor, as Missionary to Children for the ensuing year.

*Dudleian Lecture.* — The annual Dudleian Lecture was preached on Wednesday, May 9th, in the College Chapel at Cambridge, by the Rev. George W. Blagden, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. The subject in course was, The Errors of Popery. The preacher traced its worst corruptions and inventions to a root in human nature, from which had sprung errors developed in other systems of religion. The discourse was able, and well suited to its purpose.



*A Western Conference.*—A Conference of Unitarian Ministers, attended also by Elder D. Nicholson, of the Christian Connection, was held in the city of Chicago, Illinois, on the 10th of May last. There were present Rev. Wm. Adam of Chicago, Rev. A. H. Conant of Geneva, Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Rev. S. Larned of Tremont, and Rev. H. Snow, missionary. Other brethren were expected, nor would they have been kept back by the long distances which divide their scattered fields of labor, if their parochial duties had allowed of their absence from their respective homes. The Rev. Messrs. Homer of Buffalo, Eliot of St. Louis, Huntington of Milwaukee, and Woodward of Galena, sent excuses for their non-appearance. The debates, addresses, and resolutions of the Conference showed an earnest desire, on the part of the few brethren who were present, to encourage each other, and to advance a common cause. Dr. Barstow of Chicago announced his wish to establish in that city a Unitarian Book and Tract Depository, and to act as travelling agent for the sale and circulation of such publications. His design was warmly approved.

An invitation was extended to the Rev. F. W. Holland, the laborious and efficient Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, to visit our Western churches, and to partake of the hospitalities of their members. Attention was drawn to the Meadville Theological School, as the source from which our Western societies are to be furnished with able ministers, and that institution was recommended to the support of its friends. The Conference resolved that it was the duty of its members to search in their parishes, and elsewhere, for suitable young men, and encourage them to go to Meadville. It was resolved that a letter be addressed to all Western Unitarian ministers not present, inviting them to consider the propriety of organizing a Western Unitarian Association, that a discussion of the project may be had at a future conference. The form of such a letter was submitted and adopted. The Rev. Wm. Adam acted as Chairman, and the Rev. M. De Lange as Secretary, of the Conference.

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*Unitarian Association of the State of New York.*—The semiannual meeting of this Association was held in the Church of the Divine Unity (Rev. Mr. Bellows's), on the evening of May 23d. After prayer by Rev. S. Osgood of Providence, a discourse was delivered by Rev. S. K. Lothrop of Boston, from Matthew x. 8 : subject, "The Value of the Gospel to us, and our Obligation to use it for the Purposes for which it was bestowed." Zebedee Cook, Esq., President of the Association, then took the chair, and resolutions were offered, a discussion of which was commenced, and continued, by adjournment, on the following evening, in the Church of the Saviour (Rev. Mr. Farley's), in Brooklyn, after a discourse had been delivered by Rev. Dr. Dewey : text, Luke x. 2 ; subject, "Preaching, what it is, what it ought to be." The resolutions, bearing upon the interests and prospects of our cause, and indicating the line of our duty, its encouraging aspect, and the call for its earnest discharge, were discussed by the Rev. Drs. Dewey and Parkman, Rev. Messrs. Farley, Bellows, Osgood, Thompson of Salem, and Fox of Boston, and Messrs. Richard Warren and George Woodman of New York.

Our brethren of the New York Association, both lay and clerical, do certainly deserve the heartiest acknowledgments of all of like faith,

for their generous and zealous efforts in behalf of Liberal Christianity. We hope that the cause has received from recent measures an impulse whose good effects will be permanent and extensive.

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*Anniversary Week.*—An increasing importance attaches year by year to the crowded and numerous meetings that are held in this city during the week which promises to become more famous, and which is certainly far more effective of good as “Anniversary Week,” than when it was signalized as “Election Week.” While the children have not lost their holiday, their parents have gained many days which they may make holy in their spirit and influences. These occasions exhibit to us what is the utmost that coöperation and sympathy for great religious and benevolent ends can effect. Though they may excite and weary, and may not always afford so much of help and encouragement in the way in which all would be glad to receive it, they certainly hold a high and a peculiar place among the agencies which are now working most beneficently upon the world. They soften prejudices; they harmonize hearts, if not minds; they offer resistance and rebuke to selfishness. When we have received from them all the good they can impart to each of us, we can better estimate the proportions of various duties, and the aids which we may find in each. We understand better in what part of the great work of the Christian life disciples may help each other, and what part of it each must perform alone.

We think it must be evident to all that the week is too much crowded with meetings. It would be impossible for a member of either portion of the Congregational body to attend all the meetings which are called to consider its different objects; and if to such meetings we add the social and philanthropic assemblies, we might well ask, How can we be in three or four places at the same hour?

Our own experience leads us to decide, that, taking into view economy of time, and some of the best effects of wisdom as depending rather on deliberate thought than on emotion or excitement, those meetings in which a carefully prepared address or discourse is delivered are more edifying than our random discussions. The occasions which are called, by way of keeping us in good humor, *business meetings*, are apt to be very wasteful of precious hours.

What a striking advance in the character and aim of human interest, is indicated in these religious and philanthropic assemblies! What an index do they afford of progress towards ultimate and universal good, by the elevation of men's hopes and the enlistment of their best powers! These meetings form the fifth in the order of those occasions which, apart from political purposes, have called together periodically large masses of human beings. The first of these occasions was that presented in ancient Greece, where games of running and wrestling, the chariot-race, and the poetic contest, drew together the dwellers on the isles, the promontories, and the mountains of that fair land. Second in order were the gladiatorial shows, and the barbarous conflicts of the arena. Then came the sports of the tournament and the tilting-field. Fourth in order were the market fairs and wakes, which were eagerly anticipated over all Christian Europe, and which remain to this day among the most effective influences which work at the same time upon large numbers of persons.

It would be too much to expect that we should have at the same time the highest and best of all these occasions to draw us together, and that we should, at this early stage of the trial of a new method, make always the wisest use of it. "The interests of humanity," our familiar theme now, do indeed open before us an ocean of awful depth and extent; but the means of exploring and traversing it wisely are the same as secure safety on smaller seas, and with less universal cargoes.

We should be glad, did our limits permit, to recognize the broadest interests which have been discussed through this week by going beyond the bounds of our own household, and recording the proceedings of all the societies and meetings for religious, sectarian, philanthropic, and reformatory purposes. But they all have organs to speak for them.

The Antislavery and General Reform meetings were well attended. The star of those assemblies was Mr. Wendell Phillips, who speaks from the fulness of his sincerity, and with a beauty and power of eloquence which give him the same superiority over his associates of his own complexion that Frederick Douglass enjoys over his colored brethren, through the force of his apt and powerful rhetoric, and his fertility of illustration. Henry Brown, a fugitive (or rather a smuggled) slave, who had passed through miraculous experiences, in a box marked as freight, in which he had stood on his head in a freight dépôt for half an hour, was present at the meetings, and his tale was often told with great interest to the hearers.

It is not to be denied, however, that large numbers of persons are drawn to the Antislavery and Reform meetings, as children would say, "for fun." The eccentricities and extravagances of some who make themselves prominent at such meetings, doubtless, have been as attractive to many, of late years, as have the speeches and resolutions of the wiser leaders.

The numerous meetings in which our Orthodox brethren advocate and sustain the measures most important to them were, as usual, well attended, and conducted with spirit.

In giving a brief account of those occasions which enlist our peculiar sympathies and draw us together, we grieve to record that the venerable and much honored Dr. Pierce of Brookline, whose presence has been so constant and so much valued in former years, was missed from all our meetings. But he was in all of them tenderly and affectionately remembered. We are grateful for the freedom from pain, for the serenity and Christian faith which attend on his decline, and that we have all been permitted to visit him in that quiet study, which is rather a reception-room for uncounted friends than a sick-chamber.

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*Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society.*—The annual meeting of this quietly useful benevolent Society was held in the South Congregational Church, (Rev. Mr. Huntington's), on Sunday evening, May 27. After prayer by Rev. J. F. Clarke, a discourse was delivered by Rev. John Pierpont, of Troy, N. Y., from Revelation i. 3: "Blessed is he that readeth." From an ingenious and devotional exposition of his text, the preacher presented the privileges, blessings, and good fruits connected with "reading," and then passed, by an easy and obvious process of thought, to a statement of the privilege and duty of giving to others the means of reading. After the Sermon, the Rev. J. F. Clarke complied

with a request which had been made to him, and offered some appropriate remarks, in which he gave some account of the plan recently adopted for circulating the works of Rev. Dr. Channing.

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*Massachusetts Bible Society.* — The fortieth anniversary of this Society was celebrated at the Central Church (Rev. Mr. Rogers's), on Monday, May 28. At the business meeting of the Society, a letter was read from the President, the Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline, whose increasing infirmities compelled him to decline a reelection. An honorable and affectionate tribute was paid to him in the Report, and the Rev. Dr. Parkman was appointed to convey to him the cordial sympathies and the best wishes of the Society. The Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL. D., was elected President. Henry Edwards, Esq., Treasurer, and Rev. G. W. Blagden, Recording Secretary, having respectively declined a reelection, received a vote of thanks for their services, and their offices were filled by George R. Sampson, Esq., and Rev. George Richards. Rev. Dr. Parkman was chosen Vice-President, and Rev. Dr. Frothingham, Corresponding Secretary. The Report gave evidence of the efficient action of the Society in the charitable distribution of Bibles and Testaments to the destitute on land and sea.

The public meeting of the Society was then held in the church. Hon. Simon Greenleaf introduced the exercises by some brief remarks. Rev. Dr. Jenks read selections from the Scriptures, and offered prayer. Rev. Dr. Parkman, Corresponding Secretary of the last year, read the Report, which, besides its tribute to Rev. Dr. Pierce, commemorated the benefactions to the Society of the late Hon. Peter C. Brooks.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, then addressed the meeting, in a very eloquent speech, and moved the acceptance of the Report, which was seconded by Rev. Dr. Sharp. Addresses in support of resolutions were also made by Rev. W. I. Budington of Charlestown, and Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York.

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*The Boston Port Society.* — The annual meeting of this Society was held in the Channing Street Church (Rev. Dr. Gannett's), on Monday evening, May 28. Albert Fearing, Esq., the President, took the chair, and opened the meeting. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Sharp, of the Baptist Church in Charles Street. The Report was read by J. A. Andrew, Esq., and addresses were made by Hon. J. H. Clifford of New Bedford, Attorney-General, Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York, and Rev. E. T. Taylor of the Seamen's Bethel.

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*American Peace Society.* — A thronged concourse filled the whole area of Park Street Church, on Monday evening, May 28, to hear the Annual Address before that Society by Charles Sumner, Esq., the subject of which was "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations." The President of the Society, Hon. William Jay, being absent on account of illness, the Rev. Dr. Waterbury took the chair. Scriptures were read and prayer offered by Rev. D. Huntington of North Bridgewater. Rev. C. Beckwith, the Secretary, read the Report, the statements of which gave a favorable account of the receipts and the

operations of the Society. The "Review of the Mexican War," by Rev. A. A. Livermore, which obtained the prize of \$500 offered by this Society, will be published in the course of this summer.

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*American Unitarian Association.*—The annual meeting of this Association for business purposes was held on Tuesday morning, May 29, at the chapel of the Church of the Saviour (Rev. Mr. Waterston's), and afterwards, by adjournment, on the afternoon of the following day. Prayer was offered by Rev. S. Osgood of Providence. The President, Rev. Dr. Gannett, opened the meeting, and a very methodical and extended Report was read by the Secretary, Rev. F. W. Holland, who has labored with persevering energy during the past year to promote the efficiency of the Association, and has taken especial care to provide the numerous passenger-ships to California with religious literature. Dr. Gannett also read a report from a sub-committee on missions; and another report, copies of which had been circulated in print, with suggestions for extending and strengthening the agency of the Association, was read, and all of them were accepted. From the measures and plans resolved upon, we hope for an earnest and most successful prosecution of the high purposes of the Association for the time to come. All the officers of the last year were reelected. J. P. Blanchard, Esq.; proposed an amendment to the constitution, reducing the fee for life-membership from \$30 to \$15. According to rule, the proposal lies over to the next yearly meeting.

The public meeting of the Association was held on the evening of May 29, in the Channing Street Church (Rev. Dr. Gannett's). The President took the chair, and opened the meeting by calling on the Rev. John Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., to read a hymn and offer prayer. The Secretary then gave a summary of the Report. Dr. Gannett announced that the subjects and topics which it was desirable should come before the meeting had been distributed under several heads, and that several speakers to whom they had been assigned would be called upon in succession. The meeting was accordingly addressed by Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, Md., Rev. J. F. Clarke, Hon. T. D. Elliot of New Bedford, Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Illinois, Rev. G. E. Ellis of Charlestown, and Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem.

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*The Collation.*—This pleasant occasion had the usual testimony borne to its cheerful and inspiring influences in the avowal by many who partook of it that it was the best of all they had ever shared. It was held in the beautiful and commodious Assembly Room in Albany Street, where about one thousand guests were seated. Manlius S. Clarke, Esq., Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, welcomed the Unitarian ministers and their wives, in behalf of the Unitarian laity of Boston. The Hon. Josiah Quincy presided; a blessing was craved by Rev. Dr. Peabody, and thanks were returned by Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York. The President, in brief and felicitous remarks, called up, successively, Rev. F. A. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. A. B. Muzzey of Cambridgeport, Rev. R. Sanger of Dover, Rev. S. J. May of Syracuse, N. Y., Rev. E. T. Taylor, Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York, Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Ill., Deacon M. Grant, and Rev. J. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y. Music and singing were interspersed, and

the hall was richly decorated with flowers, and with portraits of deceased and living ministers. Letters were read from invited guests whose engagements prevented their being present.

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*Ministerial Conference.* — This meeting of brethren — which has lost its once familiar name by its removal from the vestry in Berry Street, and somewhat of its former peaceful and devotional character by the introduction into it of a large variety of subjects of debate — was held on Wednesday morning, May 30, in the chapel of the Church of the Saviour. Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., was chosen Moderator, and prayer was offered by Rev. A. Hill of Worcester. The Address, delivered by Rev. Dr. Gannett, has a place in our pages; so that all, who were not so privileged as to be among the still and attentive audience that listened to it with such interest, may read it and judge for themselves. After a vote of thanks had been passed to the speaker, the Rev. F. D. Huntington was chosen Scribe, and the Rev. Messrs. G. E. Ellis, J. F. Clarke, and S. Osgood, Executive Committee. The Rev. Charles Brooks, as chairman of a committee appointed last year, read a report on a projected society to relieve aged and indigent brethren of our body. The report, which embraced a constitution, was accepted, and the same committee was charged with the office of organizing a society according to its suggestions. We may as well say here, in passing, that the society was organized on the following day, by the choice of Rev. Dr. Nichols as President, Rev. Drs. Parkman and Frothingham, Vice-Presidents, Rev. Charles Brooks, Secretary, Rev. Dr. Peabody, Treasurer, and Rev. Drs. Walker, Putnam, Lamson, and Barrett, as Directors.

The Rev. W. H. Channing, as chairman of another committee appointed last year, made a report on the original purpose and design of the Conference, with suggestions as to its range of membership and uses, and propositions as to its future method and action. An hour was fixed for the discussion of the subject presented in Dr. Gannett's address, and, till that arrived, a discussion, which was continued on the following day, was held on Mr. Channing's report and resolutions. Remarks were made, in the course of the discussion, by Rev. Drs. Nichols, Parkman, Gannett, and Hall, and by Rev. Messrs. Pierpont, Sanger, Channing, Osgood, Stone, Huntoon, Shackford, Miles, Judd, A. Hill, Morison, Bellows, Burnap, Conant, and Bacon.

Resolutions were adopted, as the result of the discussion on Mr. Channing's report, which promise henceforward to make this Conference more profitable.

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*Sunday School Society.* — The exercises connected with the anniversary of this Society took place in the church in Channing Street, on Wednesday evening, May 30. The President, Hon. S. C. Phillips, being absent, Hon. Samuel Hoar, one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair. Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence, R. I., opened the meeting with prayer. The singing was by a youthful choir under the direction of Rev. C. F. Barnard of Warren Street Chapel. The Annual Report was read by the Secretary, Rev. Charles Brooks; and Mr. Gideon F. Thayer, Chairman of the Board of Visiting Agents of the Society, presented the statistics of their labors. Addresses were then made by Rev. Charles

T. Brooks of Newport, R. I., Mr. J. W. Foster of Portsmouth, N. H., Rev. M. De Lange of Quincy, Ill., Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester, and Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, Md.

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*Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society.*—This unobtrusive and useful Society, which was especially dear to the heart of the late Rev. Dr. Ware, Jr., and which has owed much of its efficiency to his devoted labors in its behalf, held its annual meeting on Thursday, May 31. The President, Hon. Richard Sullivan, filled the chair, and the Reports of the Treasurer and Secretary showed that the Society had been faithfully pursuing its work. Benevolent gifts, which would doubtless have sought the medium of this Society, may have been diverted to more urgent agencies; yet we cannot but commend it anew to the kind regards of generous spirits in our churches.

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*The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity.*—This Society, which is another of our more quiet and unobserved agencies for doing good, by the distribution of the best religious volumes, held its annual meeting on Friday, June 1, at the house of Rev. Dr. Young, where its simple business was accomplished by choosing its officers for the coming year.

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*Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts.*—This body held its annual meeting for business, in the Supreme Court Room, on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 30. The Rev. N. Adams, D. D., the preacher for this year, took the chair as Moderator, and opened the meeting with prayer. The usual routine of business was gone through, and the names of the widows and orphans of Congregational pastors, the recipients of the charities of the Convention, were announced. Rev. A. C. Thompson of Roxbury was reelected Scribe, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Treasurer, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs of Braintree, Auditor. Rev. Dr. Parkman, Secretary of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, announced that the amount of the fund held in trust by that Society for the Convention is \$7,067, and that the whole amount of the general and trust funds of the Society is \$96,199.60.

Rev. Professor Park of Andover, chosen as Second Preacher for this year, will be First Preacher in course for the next year, and as, by a sort of tacit understanding, the Unitarian portion of the Convention are to have the pulpit one year in three, the ballot being taken, the Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D. D., had 88 votes out of 112 given for Second Preacher.

The Rev. Dr. Lowell, chairman of a committee on the subject of slavery, appointed by the Convention last year, reported, that the seven members of the committee had distributed the whole subject into topics and portions among themselves, and that the several parts had been digested into a Report, the reading of which would occupy five or six hours.

An abstract of the Report had also been prepared, which, by vote of the Convention, was read by Rev. Dr. Worcester of Salem, a member of the committee. It was likewise voted, that the whole Report be

printed; though, of course, the Convention could not take any decisive action upon it, as the principle of receiving "for substance of doctrine" has never been formally sanctioned by the whole Convention.

The Convention Sermon was preached on Thursday, May 31st, at 11 o'clock, in the church in Brattle Square, by Rev. N. Adams, D. D., from 2 Timothy i. 12: subject, "The Assurance of Faith as warranted by the Certainty of the Way of Salvation." The discourse implied throughout an assumption of the Calvinistic terms of salvation, though it did not define or state them. It was written with great beauty and force of language, and delivered in a way to chain the attention of a large audience. The preacher made two positive and unqualified statements, which perhaps might be more properly suggested as inferences, viz.:—"Thus far women make the majority of the redeemed in heaven"; and, "There is nothing that God hates so much as false doctrine."

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*Devotional Exercises of Anniversary Week.*—Morning Prayer and Conference Meetings were held at an early hour, on four successive days, at the Church of the Saviour (Rev. R. C. Waterston's), the Church of the Disciples (Rev. J. F. Clarke's), the church in Bulfinch Street (Rev. F. T. Gray's), and the church in Harrison Avenue (Rev. J. I. T. Coolidge's). Prayers, singing, and brief addresses from several ministers and laymen, imparted a freshness of interest and a devotional glow to those who took part in the meetings. Some regard them as the most improving of all the exercises of Anniversary Week.

The closing services, with the administration of the Lord's Supper, were held in the church in Channing Street, on Thursday evening, May 31. A discourse was preached by Rev. H. W. Bellows of New York, and the services at the communion-table were by Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton.

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*Missionary Meetings.*—The Rev. Mr. De Lange of Quincy, Ill., having remained in the city for a short sojourn, on this his first visit here, his presence has been improved at meetings held on successive Sunday evenings to increase an interest in our missionary cause.

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*Ordinations.*—The First Congregational Church and Society in BURLINGTON, Vt., which suffered so severe a bereavement in the loss of its last pastor, the Rev. Mr. Peabody, ordained as his successor, on Wednesday, May 16, Mr. SOLON W. BUSH, a recent graduate of the Divinity School at Cambridge. The Sermon on the occasion was by Rev. E. B. Hall, D. D., of Providence, R. I.; the Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. J. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y.; the Charge, by Rev. A. Hill of Worcester; the Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. S. Saltmarsh, of Windsor, Vt.; the Address to the Society, by Rev. John Cordner of Montreal. Dr. Hall's text was from Luke ix. 60: "Let the dead bury their dead." Respectful and affectionate references were made to the late pastor of the society by all who took part in the services, which were of a very serious and impressive character. Pastors from four of the States of this Union, and from the British dominions, were there engaged in exercises whose real solemnity



is a sufficient substitute for whatever loss they may have suffered of an ancient superstitious regard.

Mr. EDWARD P. BOND, of the class about to graduate from the Divinity School at Cambridge, was ordained as an Evangelist in the church in Channing Street, Boston, (Rev. Dr. Gannett's,) on Tuesday evening, June 12. On account of the failure of his health, the candidate was about to seek the benefit of a sea-voyage, when he received an appointment from the American Unitarian Association as a missionary to California. The exercises at his Ordination were as follows:—Introductory Prayer, by Rev. J. White, of Dedham; Reading of the Scriptures, by Rev. J. F. Clarke; Sermon, by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, from Philippians i. 27; Prayer of Ordination, by Rev. C. Lincoln, of Fitchburg; Charge, by Rev. Dr. Gannett; Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. H. F. Bond, of Barre, brother of the candidate; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. N. S. Folsom.

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#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Inauguration of the President of Harvard College.*—On Wednesday, June 20, Jared Sparks, LL. D., was formally inducted into office as the successor of those reverend and honored men who have presided over Harvard College. The true dignity of that office is perhaps felt most impressively, when, amid all the associations of the place and occasion, the prominent men in all the departments of service in our Commonwealth assemble to inaugurate a new President. There is just enough of simple ceremonial to dignify the occasion, without any idle parade or pageantry which might make it puerile. The exercises took place in the church of the First Parish, in Cambridge. The procession formed at Gore Hall, was preceded by the undergraduates, and moved to the church about four o'clock. Ex-Presidents Quincy and Everett were present. Solemn music, with a Latin hymn and chants, and prayers by Rev. Professors Walker and Francis, constituted the devotional portion of the exercises. His Excellency Governor Briggs, in a short address, invested the new President with the keys, the seal, and the charter of the College, and remained standing during the reply with which Dr. Sparks received them. After an appropriate and spirited oration in Latin, by Charles Francis Choate, of the Senior Class, the President delivered his Inaugural Address. A collation in Harvard Hall, and a general illumination of the College buildings in the evening, were the festivities of the occasion.

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*A New Assault upon Protestantism.*—In the course of the last three years, Dr. Dollinger, a distinguished Roman Catholic divine, has published at Ratisbon, in three octavo volumes, covering some two thousand pages, a work, the object of which is to discredit the Reformation through Protestant testimony. His volumes are made up of extracts from the writings of Protestants, who have incidentally expressed judgments and opinions of the workings of the Reformation in Germany which admit of so unfair a construction, that, when severed from their general connection and aim, they seem to impute to Protestant-

ism itself all the evils which it has failed to prevent or overcome, however it may rebuke and oppose them. The sad sentences of disappointment, the complaints and bewailings, which social evils and religious discords have drawn from the pens of writers out of the Roman Church, have been culled from their works by Dr. Dollinger, and put to a use of which they never dreamed. The reader of his volumes might forget that he was perusing a forced and ingenious array of sentences expressive of the temporary dejection, or the hasty and unguarded judgment, of about three hundred writers, and imagine that he had before him the combined testimony of all Protestants, as the confession of one man, in shame and sorrow, that the fruits of the Reformation had been necessarily and without exception disastrous and evil. Testimony gathered in a similar manner might be found in quantity far exceeding the contents of Dr. Dollinger's volumes, and of like quality, to discredit civilization, Christianity, and even the course of Divine Providence.

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*A Memorial of the Last French Revolution.* — There have been published recently in Paris volumes of a remarkable character, which will help to reproduce almost, to the eyes of coming generations, the most vivid scenes attending the late distractions in France. The volumes contain copies of the Placards, Broadsides, Posters, *Affiches*, and Medals connected with and commemorative of the occurrences of the Revolution in Paris, in 1848. During the existence of the Provisional Government, a Poster or Placard was printed every other day, and affixed to the walls all over Paris, by order of the temporary rulers. These were at once imitated by the Socialists, the Red Republicans, and the Reformers; and so numerous were these insane, exciting, and grotesque announcements, that the government was compelled to monopolize the white-paper sheets as the only way of distinguishing its own edicts. More than six hundred medals were struck in honor of successive leaders, banquets, and riots, many of them being ornamented with death's heads, and with savage mottoes like this: — "Du Pain, ou du Plomb," — Bread or Bullets. What era in civilization will these volumes be regarded as recording?

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*Mr. Layard and Nineveh.* — The Trustees of the British Museum have appropriated fifteen thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of Mr. Layard in prosecuting his excavations at Nineveh. He is now connected with the British Embassy at Constantinople.

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*Sketches of the Lives and Writings of Distinguished Anti-Trinitarians.* — A work under this title, which promises to be of very great interest, and which has been in preparation for a long series of years, is now completed by the author, the Rev. Robert Wallace, Unitarian minister of Bath, England, and awaits only an increase of the number of subscribers to be committed to the press. The author, who is a member of the Historico-Theological Society of Leipsic, and lately Theological Professor in Manchester New College, is admirably qualified for the task which he has undertaken. His work is based chiefly on those of Sandius, Zeltner, and Bock, and will embrace notices of three hundred and sixty anti-Trinitarians, and accounts of their writ-

ings, thus affording a chronological view of the interests of Unitarianism in Europe from the Reformation to the eighteenth century. The work will appear in three demy-octavo volumes. The subscription price in England is about eight dollars. Our own publishers (Messrs. Crosby & Nichols) will be happy to receive the names of subscribers in this country.

A work of a similar character, and relating to our own country, is announced by Messrs. James Munroe & Co., to be prepared by the Rev. Wm. Ware. The biographies of the most distinguished anti-Trinitarian divines of America will be embraced in successive volumes. The compiler and editor is eminently qualified to perform the work with good judgment and accuracy, as well as with ability.

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*Royal College of Preceptors.* — We have received from England several documents relating to an institution which promises to afford essential service to the cause of education. It is designed to elevate and improve the profession of the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress, — to take that noble profession out of the possible and actual risks of quackery, — to demand for it a higher estimation, and to help toward the better qualification of those engaged in it. The whole plan is simple and liberal. Those who propose themselves for teachers are at liberty, and are invited, to become members of this college, to offer themselves to its Council for Examination, and to receive, if deserving, its certificates. The institution has received an act of incorporation, and now numbers about 1500 members. The whole number of teachers of private schools in England is supposed to be about 25,000. We shall be interested to hear of the success of this college, which has been so vigorously commenced; and when we learn more about it, we shall communicate the information to our readers.

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#### OBITUARY.

Rev. HEZEKIAH PACKARD, D. D., died in Salem, Mass., April 25th, 1849, aged 87.

The name of this venerable servant of God cannot be mentioned without a feeling of unfeigned respect. It is associated with a life of purity, uprightness, and usefulness. Of late it has been seldom before the public, and to the younger portion of the community may be almost unknown; but it was once familiar in connection with offices of trust, and held in high esteem, not only by the congregations to which he ministered, but by the eminent men of New England who were his contemporaries. He was a fine representative of the clergymen of the old school. His manners were simple, yet dignified, grave without austerity, sedate without gloom. There was, indeed, an admirable combination in his character of seriousness and humor, strictness of principle and tenderness of heart, firmness of purpose with charitableness of judgment. As a preacher he was plain and impressive, without being eloquent. He did not address the passions, nor aim at sudden effect, but calmly and soberly reasoned and exhorted. He sought to win rather than terrify men to repentance. He endeavored to *instruct* them unto righteousness and to make them *wise unto salvation*. In opinion he oc-

cupied what he called the "middle ground"; standing aloof from partisanship and controversy, avoiding all extremes, maintaining a spirit of conciliation and an attitude of peace towards all Christians. The most excellent article of his creed was charity. In defence of it he was manly and firm, and for the sake of it he endured persecution. He styled himself "a Bible Christian." In applying to himself, however, this epithet, he did not assume any superiority over others, but expressed only his idea of what a Christian should be, and his own ruling purpose to form his faith and govern his life entirely by the Scriptures.

Dr. Packard was a graduate of Harvard College in the year 1787, and a tutor in the same institution from 1789 to 1793. He was first settled at Chelmsford, Mass., in 1793, subsequently at Wiscasset in Maine, in 1802, and afterwards at North Chelmsford, Mass., in 1830; where he remained till he withdrew from the active duties of the ministry in 1836, after a faithful service of about forty-three years.

In his early life he served as a soldier in the American army during the war of the Revolution, and the fire of patriotism which was then kindled in his breast burned freshly to the last. The struggles of our fathers were one of his favorite topics of conversation, and the character of Washington a subject of frequent eulogy and of earnest commendation to the young.

He was deeply interested in the cause of education. For many years he received a limited number of boys and young men into his family to prepare for college, some of whom have attained to eminence in the different professions, and all of whom cherish the memory of their teacher and friend with profound gratitude and esteem. Dr. Packard was for a period Vice-President of Bowdoin College.

His last days were spent in the family of one of his children, cheered by the delightful attentions of filial love, the visits and letters of numerous friends, the memory of a well-spent life, and the assured hope of immortality.

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MRS. MARTHA FREME.

Seldom has such a thrill of grief and horror been felt through a community as pervaded the town of Brattleboro', Vt., on the death of this excellent lady in the conflagration of her dwelling-house in that town, about midnight of Sunday, May 20th. She was nearly fourscore years of age. Born in England, she was brought to this country in childhood, together with several brothers and sisters long and favorably known among us, by her father, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Wells, for many years the venerable pastor of the Congregational Church in Brattleboro'. After growing up, she visited her native country, and was there married to Mr. Freme, a wealthy merchant of Liverpool. On his death, she returned to America, fourteen years ago; and has since then resided in the noble mansion erected by her father in Brattleboro', with her two sisters. Here she soon made herself in many ways a public benefactor. Her charities were extensive, not only in alms, but also in personal kindness to rich and poor. A universal favorite with all classes, there is no one that will be more missed throughout the village and neighbourhood. Her home was the abode of elegant hospitality and refined courtesy, where strangers and neighbours, the young and the old, were alike welcomed and charmed by her polished manners of the old school, her intelligence and wide knowledge of the world, her quick penetration and

clear judgment. She retained to the last a vivid interest in all public enterprises and political movements, abroad as well as at home, promising progress and improvement to her species, and gave her sympathies at once to the oppressed and enslaved of every race. A professor of the religion of Christ from early life, she was exemplary in the discharge of her religious duties, public and domestic. A decided Unitarian, she lived on the kindest terms with Christians of every name, knew no bigotry in her own heart and disarmed it in all the churches around her against herself. All seemed to esteem and revere her as a fine exemplification of a genuine Christian lady,—one who combined in herself the characteristic excellences of the women of both the countries between which her life had been divided, Old England and New England. Her funeral was attended by all denominations, who crowded the largest church in the place, courteously offered for the occasion by the Orthodox society, and the amiable pastor of that society took part in the solemnities of the pulpit.

She had attended her own church forenoon and afternoon of the day preceding the night of the awful tragedy, was unusually interested in a missionary movement going on in it, returned to her happy home amidst nature's loveliest scenery, passed the evening in cheerful converse,—among her last acts making characteristic arrangements for a deed of kindness to a relative, and declining to retire for the night, though exceedingly oppressed with weariness, before the assembling of the family for evening prayer; she then went to her rest with a soul at peace and in charity with all mankind. A fire broke out about midnight,—the cause unknown, but probably from a light in her chamber,—and she was not seen nor heard again. Before the neighbourhood was alarmed, the whole spacious building was in flames; her two sisters and two female domestics, who were the only other inmates of the house, escaped from the windows of the opposite side of the dwelling; and the hope is, that her spirit passed away, unconscious of suffering, under suffocation in heavy sleep. Our church in Brattleboro' has sustained an irreparable loss; and her kindred, far and wide, her dependants, her friends, remembering her many virtues, cherishing a grateful impression of her disinterested, thoughtful, ever-active kindness to all with whom she was connected, must deeply mourn their bereavement; but for her, we know she dwelleth with the just above.

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\*.\* In this number twenty-four pages are added to the regular size of the Examiner.

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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SEPTEMBER, 1849.

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ART. I. — MEMOIRS OF THE BUCKMINSTERS.\*

THIRTY-SEVEN years have elapsed since the sudden death of the two Buckminsters, father and son, produced a sensation in this community which no such event could produce now. We were then, comparatively, a small people. We seemed all to know one another, as we met in the streets. Business, which had never been so engrossing as it has since become, had then, during five years of commercial embarrassments, relaxed something of that hold on the thoughts of men, which is always so tenacious; and if war were already at our doors, many refused to believe it so near, and all looked trustingly to each other for the mutual sympathy and friendly support all would need, if its trials should come.

In the wearisome leisure such a state of things brought with it, we met more frequently than we had been wont to do, and felt involved in each other's welfare and fate as it is impossible we should now, when our numbers are trebled, and our affairs complicated and extended till their circumference is too wide to be embraced by any one mind, and till the interests of each individual are grown too separate and intense to be bound in by any general sympathy with the

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\* *Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., and of his Son, Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster.* By ELIZA BUCKMINSTER LEE. Boston: William Crosby and H. P. Nichols. 1849. 12mo. pp. 486.

whole. Notwithstanding our old political quarrels, therefore, and notwithstanding our coming theological dissensions, which already cast their shadows before, we were then a more compact, united, and kindly community than we have ever been since or ever can be again. A blow like that which, on one day, numbered with the dead a distinguished clergyman in a neighbouring State and the most brilliant light in our own, — connected together by the nearest relationship, but separated by a distance which left them, and those about them, ignorant of their common danger, till death had united them in heaven ; — such a blow, at such a time, was felt to be an unwonted teaching, whose power and import were generally acknowledged. The hearts of all were moved by it. All felt, and openly said, that a great public loss had been sustained ; that a bright chain had been severed, which was among those that best served to bind together our little community and make its interests one.

An entire generation, as the generations of men are reckoned, has since passed away. The sermons of the younger Buckminster, arranged by his friends, have been published again and again, and such additions made to the original selection as have, from time to time, been demanded by the public or deemed becoming by those intrusted with the care of his reputation and memory. They have been sanctioned by the judgment of minds whose decisions are seldom reversed, no less than by the general regard, as among the best specimens of pulpit eloquence in the language, and as an enduring monument to their author's faithful fulfilment of his duties as a teacher of the religion of Jesus Christ. But this is all. The active portion of the present generation hardly know by tradition the space Mr. Buckminster filled in the thoughts of their fathers, still less the respect and deference felt for him by men much older than himself, — men who were the leaders of affairs at the time, and of characters and opinions the most diverse, — men like Mason and Langdon, Otis and Dexter, Sullivan and Parsons.

But there are those still alive, though their number is rapidly diminishing, who "remember that such things were" ; and there is one, to whom "they were most precious," who has treasured them faithfully in her heart, and now offers them to us for our instruction, in this memorial, strongly marked with the spirit of the period it recalls, and of the

characters it is mainly intended to commemorate. Mrs. Lee, to whom we are indebted for more than one agreeable volume in which the past age of New England is revived, is a daughter of the elder Buckminster, and a much-loved sister of the younger ; — not without traits of character common to both, and not without gifts kindred to those she so much venerated and admired. She is, therefore, singularly fitted for the duty she has undertaken to perform ; and it is praise enough for any one who has fulfilled such a duty, to say that it has been well done.

As an appropriate background to the picture, and one needful to give their relative position and proper relief to the figures upon which she is desirous chiefly to fasten our attention, Mrs. Lee offers us, in her opening chapters, a few sketches of life and manners as they existed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and in its neighbourhood, soon after her father became a settled minister there, and when her brother's character was forming under circumstances in many respects favorable, and in others very peculiar. In this she is fortunate. Her recollections seem to be vivid, even back to a very remote period of her childhood ; and the effect she produces by a few touches is occasionally remarkable. Even the old Provincial days, whose traditions were in part the foundation on which manners rested in her youth, do not entirely escape her. But it is when we come within the range of events and circumstances embraced by her own memory that we feel how considerable is her power. We seem to have been present at the meetings of the association of ministers who came together beneath her father's roof ; at their modest but good dinners, and their cheerful, genial talk. We seem to have seen those " delicate-footed gentlemen " with embroidered waistcoats and Mechlin lace ruffles, who were carried home from church in their chariots, as their fathers had been in the statelier days of the Province ; and we seem to have known Mr. Tappan, the schoolmaster, with his devout and fervent wife, and the cheerful Deacon, with whom the young minister lived soon after his settlement, and who kept a small shop and sold pins and snuff by the copper's-worth, without losing a whit of that courtesy in his old-fashioned manners towards his frugal, neatly dressed wife, to which both had been bred in happier days. These, and several similar sketches, such as one of Dr. Stevens, the clergyman of Kittery, whose daughter Dr. Buckminster



married, and whose suspected Toryism, and undoubted intimacy with the Pepperells, prevented him from being made President of Harvard College, — are all presented to us with picturesque effect, and, taken together, give such a view of the circumstances and position of the persons in whom we are most interested, as enables us better to judge what were their relations to the society of which they were a part, — how much they received from its influences, — how much, in return, they gave to it of their own.

One of these sketches — that of the old meeting-house and congregation at York, where the younger Buckminster preached his first sermon — will serve to illustrate what we mean, when speaking of this pleasant portion of Mrs. Lee's volume.

“This meeting-house and congregation of Old York were both among the most ancient and primitive in the country. The venerable old building is now replaced by a modern structure, with slips within, and white paint without. The ancient building was perfect in its iconoclasm. The square, oaken pews, polished and dark with age, were guiltless of all carpet, cushion, or seductive invitation to wandering thoughts; the beams of the ceiling were formed of heavy timber, rough-hewn into form. Beneath the pulpit was an inclosed seat for the elders, two hoary-headed old men, with long, waving locks. Upon the corner of these seats the old frame for the hour-glass kept its place, the sands long since run out and motionless. In front of these was another square inclosed seat for the deacons, and facing them, upon the floor of the meeting-house, were seats for the singers. Within the childish memory of the writer, the hymn was given out two lines at a time, and sung with pauses breaking the harmony of the verses. In each pew, close to the mother's elbow, was the little wooden cage, where the youngest child, still too young to sit alone, was for two long hours an infant prisoner.

Primitive as was the church, the congregation also retained its Puritan aspect, as they arrived, one family after the other, from their old farm-houses among the hills. The wife, the sister, or the betrothed, dismounted at the old oaken block, close to the meeting-house door, from behind her cavalier; and the old family horse patiently took his position outside, till the long service was over. The old sexton in the porch, rope in hand, and arrayed in his cocked hat, waited anxiously for the pastor; when, quitting the bell, he preceded him, hat in hand, to the pulpit stairs, and then, when the door was closed, respectfully

took his seat. All these ancient customs passed away from our manners even before the Puritan meeting-houses disappeared from the landscape."—pp. 140, 141.

It seems strange now to think of this extraordinary young man, in the flush of his earliest reputation, preaching his first sermon, at the age of twenty, under circumstances like these. But such were the times ; and, as we have intimated, Mrs. Lee's sketches of them are drawn with an artist-like skill, which brings out her principal figures with excellent effect ;— one of them, as a type of the New England clergy of the last century, marked by the lights and shades that distinguished it when presented with its better attributes ;— the other no less decisively a type of the coming changes.

The elder Buckminster was born at Rutland, Massachusetts, in 1751, — a Hebrew of the Hebrews, — the son of a Puritan clergyman and of a Puritan clergyman's daughter. He was educated at Yale College, where his classical studies were so thoroughly pursued, that the power of speaking and writing Latin was never entirely lost, but where he passed through one of those terrible seasons of conversion which darken Calvinism, even in its less severe forms, and which left deep traces in his susceptible spirit through the rest of his life. He was ordained as a clergyman at Portsmouth, over the most considerable congregation in New Hampshire, in 1779, — his age being then nearly the same with that at which his gifted son was afterwards suddenly taken from the midst of his labors, — and he died in the year 1812, after a ministry of above thirty-three years.

As to his religious opinions we can have no doubt. We have his creed, above four pages in length (pp. 19–23), drawn up at about the time he was settled ; and from which, so far as we can judge, he never afterwards materially swerved. It is thoroughly Calvinistic, — formed upon the theory, that God was offended with man for the sin of the fall, and that, therefore, God must suffer in order to restore to the Divine favor those who, from all eternity, had been chosen to receive it ; that none can obtain this favor except by a faith wholly the gift of God ; and that those to whom it has once been vouchsafed cannot ultimately fail of its blessed benefits. On the basis of this creed, and with a sincere persuasion that it was the only safe founda-

tion of hope for his hearers or for himself, Dr. Buckminster preached, during his whole life, to the people of his charge ; devoting himself faithfully to their service, and refusing every temptation to give his thoughts or his cares to any rival object.

But though he did this with an absolute fidelity to his own convictions of duty, we are not to suppose that the sermons he preached, or the doctrines he inculcated, produced the effect then that they would produce now. A great gulf separates those times from ours. In those days, controversy, as we now understand it and feel it, was not. Orthodox and Liberal, Calvinist and Unitarian, as Mrs. Lee truly says, were not then the watchwords of party. Even Episcopalians and Puritans had ceased, for a time, to be at open feud. When the congregation of St. John's Church at Portsmouth was without a rector, Dr. Buckminster was sometimes asked to minister to them ; and when their consecrated edifice was destroyed by the fire of 1806, they kept their Christmas, the next day, in Dr. Buckminster's unanointed meeting-house, and he spoke to them words of consolation which were not lost upon their hearts in a season of public and private calamity. In those days, there was little inquiry into doctrines, and hardly a trace of inquisition into the opinions of individuals. Some discussion there undoubtedly was, in consequence of the springing up of the great sects of the Baptists and Methodists, and, occasionally, not a little defection from the old Calvinistic congregations ; but the technical views of these leading parties in religion were so nearly alike, that it was hard to make out a case of controversy in which the community could be induced to take a great interest.

Preaching, in consequence, was a different thing then from what it is now. Dr. Buckminster's sermons were composed on the old Connecticut model ; each containing a part, and often the whole, of the author's system of divinity, illustrated and supported by ample quotations from Scripture, and concluded by practical reflections, which often had little real connection with the formulary of doctrine that had preceded them, and little relation to the wants and condition of the particular congregation addressed. But nine tenths of the preachers of New England offered nothing else to their hearers, and the uniformity of such doctrinal discourses produced at least one beneficial effect. The churches had

rest. The sermons might be dull, — and, in general, that was their prominent characteristic, — or they might be acute and metaphysical, which was the distinction at which they chiefly aimed ; but it was very rare that they were levelled at any but the audience to which they were preached ; it was very rare that an unkind spirit was awakened by them in the hearers ; it was still more rare that they infected the peace of neighbourhoods or families. Even the discussion between the followers of Hopkins and the Calvinists of the old school, or that in which both of them contended with the Baptists, cannot properly be regarded as constituting an exception to this remark. For the former, growing out of the metaphysics of Edwards, while it was quite too refined and deep to be fairly comprehended by many even of the clergy who entered into it, had too little effervescence in its nature to excite the mass of their congregations ; and the latter, founded on an obvious external rite, though it gained much favor with the less cultivated, to whom, at first, its claims were chiefly addressed, seemed to go too far in the other extreme, and failed to call forth anything like a spirit of controversy and bitterness in the community. Of philological learning to interpret the Scriptures, or elegance of style to illustrate Christianity and its precepts, there was hardly a thought. The few who sought to commend themselves to their people, by anything but the soundness of their theology, sought to do it generally by earnestness and vehemence of elocation.

It was in a state of society like this, and especially under strong influences from the state of New England theology and preaching, such as we have described it to have been, that the younger Buckminster was born in Portsmouth, in 1784, and that the important years of his early youth were passed. From the first, he showed an uncommon tendency to intellectual pursuits. He loved books as soon as he could comprehend them ; and, to please him, he was taught to read a chapter in the Greek Testament before he could be taught the language itself. But his religious tendencies were even more strongly marked. From five to seven years old, he used to read sermons and sing hymns with the servants of the family on Sundays, and he did it so gravely and so sweetly as to command their attention and love. All this, it will be observed, — so far as the development of his faculties and tastes was concerned, — was connected with his condition as the son of a clergyman faithfully devoted to

his duties, and possessing somewhat more of scholarlike accomplishments than were then common among his class in New England. At the age of eleven, he passed from the immediate care of his father, and from the instructions of an uncle, who was his schoolmaster, and entered Exeter Academy, where the direct religious influences of his residence in the family of a clergyman, whose Calvinistic opinions were more severe than those to which he had been accustomed, were substantially the same. But, in other respects, his relations were improved. He read books and heard of studies before unknown to him. He began to think less of the immediate and the present, and more of the future. Among other things that naturally occupied much of his concern, was the question, how and where he should continue his studies, when he should leave his present situation. At Exeter, boys were prepared, and carefully prepared, for all the New England colleges, as well as for active life; and long before each left the temporary home, which to few of them had been other than a happy one, the position for which he was next destined, its merits and its disadvantages, were often discussed with his fellows, with the freedom and earnestness that belong to youth. Dr. Buckminster, as might have been foreseen, desired that his son should be educated at New Haven, where he had been educated himself, and where he had passed eleven useful and active years. But the son's inclinations were different. He had read Homer and Virgil; he had become interested in ancient history; his literary tastes were already so eager, that, beginning to read Boswell's Johnson, while leaning on a mantel-piece, he forgot himself so long and so completely, that he did not move till he fainted from exhaustion. These strong tendencies, so early and so decisively developed, led him to select Cambridge, where classical and literary studies have always been pursued with so fond a preference. The father feared the views of religion which he supposed to prevail there, and expressed his apprehensions to his son. But the wishes of the winning and affectionate boy prevailed; and in 1797, when he was only thirteen years old, he was admitted as a Sophomore at the college of his preference, and in the society of several young friends, to whom, by similarity of pursuits and sympathy of tastes, he was already attached.

His life there was a happy one. The pecuniary means

for an indulgence even of his love of books were, indeed, wanting. The meagre salary of his father could afford no luxuries to the child of his fondest affections ; but the rigorous economy to which he had always been accustomed, and his strong love of study, prevented poverty from being felt as a serious restraint. It was, therefore, a small thing to him to wear poor clothes and be obliged to walk a part of his journeys home in vacation, in order to save expense. He had higher thoughts. Every step in his college course was onward and upward, and filled him with animation and alacrity. Those who remember most of him at this period recollect the attractive personal beauty which, a few years earlier, had led a gentleman and lady, accidentally passing through Portsmouth, to follow him home, and ask that he might be given to them for a son ; — they recollect his fervent devotion to study, and not only to such study as was prescribed by the rules of the college, but to such as involved a wide course of reading in history and elegant literature ; — and they recollect, above all, the deep sense of duty which controlled alike his ardent and his tender feelings, his prejudices and his passions, to a degree that could hardly have been expected from one so young, surrounded by solicitations to pleasure before entirely unknown to him. When he was graduated in 1800, only a few weeks more than sixteen years old, there is no doubt that he was the object of a more general regard, that he was more admired and loved, than any of his time in college ; and his performance at Commencement, marked by that grace which never deserted him, made an impression not forgotten at the end of half a century by those who then listened to him.

From Cambridge, he went almost directly to Exeter, where, to the great pleasure of his father, he received the place of Assistant Teacher in the Academy, and where he continued above two years. Certainly, he was very young for the task of teaching persons many of whom were older than he was, and one of whom, Mr. Webster, has since filled so large a space in the affairs of the world. But he was equal to the duties his place brought with it, and happy in them. He went over the rudimentary parts of his education, and settled firmly in his mind the foundations for a life of study ; he read much, variously, and well ; and he began upon a wise system, and with deep reverence, the study of the Bible, as the first distinct step in his preparation

for the profession to which he had always intended to devote his life.

His residence in Exeter was important to him in another point of view. It was the period when, if not from his years, at least from his position, he ceased to be a boy, and became part of a society much older than himself. In this he was fortunate. The village in which the Academy had been placed was a pleasant one ; full of intelligence, and of a cultivation rare, at that time, in any part of the country. The head of the institution, Dr. Abbott, a careful student, and a wise and prudent man, with a wider and more generous circumspection than any other teacher of a similar condition in New England ; — the late Chief Justice Smith, one of the most acute and affluent minds of his time ; — Governor Gilman and his cultivated and delightful family ; — Judge Peabody, a gentleman of the old school, whose children have since ornamented society wherever they have been known, in the highest positions as in the most laborious, at the courts of foreign princes and as Christian ministers at home ; — these, and others, formed by their intercourse, and fitted to be associated with them by their accomplishments, constituted a society in whose healthy and invigorating atmosphere his character took an impulse and received a direction which it never afterwards lost.

His residence of above two years at Exeter was followed by one of nearly equal length in the family of his kinsman, Mr. Theodore Lyman, as a private teacher of the two sons of that gentleman ; — a position as favorable to his studies, and to his social privileges and enjoyments, as could perhaps have been selected for him anywhere in this community.

But it was, as is so often the case, precisely when the external circumstances were the most favorable and happy, that the real trials of life began. At Exeter he suffered the first attack of the terrible malady — epilepsy — that ten years afterwards destroyed him ; and amidst the rural peace of the delicious retreat at Waltham began the discussion with his father on the controverted questions of theology, and especially those of the Trinity and the Atonement, which at one time had wellnigh prevented him from assuming the ministerial office, and never ceased to disturb, and in some degree to embitter, his life.

But, from the outset, Mr. Buckminster took the position he always maintained afterwards, and one from which, we

are persuaded, no change of times or conflict of parties would have induced him to advance or recede. He placed himself on the impregnable Protestant ground of the Bible, authenticated by miracles, as the only binding creed, and the only rule of faith and practice, and on the right and therefore the duty of private judgment in everything relating to its interpretation. It was a bold ground to be assumed by one so young ; but he never felt, for an instant, that it was an unsafe or an uncertain one.

There were then no theological schools in the United States, and students in divinity, on the old Congregational platform, commonly placed themselves in the family of some well-reputed clergyman of their own faith, who, after directing their studies for what was deemed a reasonable length of time, offered them, on his personal responsibility, to the association of ministers with which he happened to be connected ; and if that body gave the candidate thus presented their approbation, he was accounted as one "licensed to preach." The system was evidently very imperfect, so far as instruction was concerned ; and as to the authority of the association, it was certainly not founded on the ancient examples of New England independence, and, in our judgment, was equally deficient in wisdom and in beneficent results. Mr. Buckminster's father, however, was inclined to have him pursue this method of preparation, especially after his son's orthodoxy had become uncertain ; hoping, no doubt, by a careful supervision of his faith, to reclaim him from the course on which he seemed entering. But the young man was faithful to his convictions of duty. He was aware that some of his doctrinal opinions were unsettled, but he had determined, with much deliberation, by what process alone he could conscientiously settle them ; and he went on his way with firmness, though certainly not without sorrow and misgiving in consequence of the anxious opposition of one he so much loved.

For such a course his new relations in life were favorable. He was able to earn his bread, and was therefore thus far independent. He was in the neighbourhood of the amplest collection of books, for purposes like his, that could be found in the country. His reputation and promise gave him the means of intercourse with the best minds in this part of New England, on terms which, considering his youth, were remarkably equal. He had no doubts about the truth or the



miraculous origin and authority of Christianity, whose evidences, already faithfully examined by him, he had gladly accepted and publicly acknowledged. He therefore now turned to an earnest and conscientious inquiry into its doctrines. He read whatever was deemed most important on both sides of the controverted questions ; he discussed with his father, in a manly and frank spirit, but with all the deference due to his father's age and situation, the points that separated them ; he studied the Scriptures in a devout spirit, but in a spirit of faithful, rigorous criticism ; and the result was, that he entirely rejected the Calvinistic system.

After some further doubt and hesitation, in consequence of the opposition which this final decision brought upon him, he began to preach. His first sermon, as we have noticed, was delivered in the old meeting-house at York, where a venerable relative, much broken by the infirmities of age, still ministered to his primitive people ; and it is a circumstance not without significance, that the young man, on this his first appearance, corrected a phrase in the received version as he read the passage containing it, and that the elder instantly restored the common reading by repeating it in a full voice, with the authority which, he thought, was demanded by the occasion.

But even after he had thus begun to preach, the misgivings of the son were renewed by the increased morbid feelings of the father ; and at one moment it was even uncertain whether he would not still give up a profession for which he seemed to be singularly fitted by his character, his talents, and his tastes. At last, however, with the parental assent, he again returned to his public duties, and in October, 1804, he delivered his first sermon in Brattle Street. There was no doubt as to the effect he produced, and no hesitation as to inviting him to become the permanent minister of that truly metropolitan church and society. On the 30th of January, 1805, therefore, he was regularly ordained ; and from that moment his career became a public one. The state of his health, indeed, once or twice interrupted or checked it, and the fearful malady that finally brought his life to a close made its insidious attacks at uncertain intervals, but with sure results. At the suggestion of his parish, who hoped thus to prolong a life which they early learned to value as a great blessing to them and to their children, he made an excursion to Europe, and was absent from May,

1806, to September, 1807, during which time he visited England, Holland, France, and Switzerland, forming many pleasant acquaintances, and enriching his mind with the observation and knowledge that come peculiarly from foreign travel. But, though he was much refreshed by the release from labor which this interval of relaxation afforded him, and though he returned invigorated in his general health, the peculiar malady, whose inroads he had suffered for five years, had relaxed nothing of its hold upon his constitution.

From January, 1805, to June, 1812, with the exception of this interval of eighteen months spent in Europe, and a few weeks of acute illness, Mr. Buckminster was an active clergyman in Boston. The period was certainly short, — about five years and a half; and when to this we add his youth, — for he was ordained four months before he was twenty-one years old, — we may well be surprised at the results he produced, and the space he filled in the interests and regard of the community. To these we will now turn.

Mr. Buckminster was first known among us as a scholar. No young man, we believe, of whom the memory remains to us, produced the effect he did in college, and in the years immediately following those of college life. His extraordinary personal beauty, and his frank, open manners, bespoke the favor of all who saw him; and the peculiarly sweet tones of his voice were a fit accompaniment to the graceful thoughts he uttered in words that seemed sometimes to be spoken under a strong and sudden impulse, but were always remarkably select and appropriate. His classical studies were early of a higher order than was then customary. His delicate and sensitive taste kept even pace with his knowledge, and made it certain that his direction was right. Men much older than himself — men upon whom rested the burdens of the State — paused, amid their anxious labors, to take notice of one unlike all they had known at the corresponding period of their own training. At sixteen, he was already marked by many, as one destined to extraordinary success, — marked, too, it should be remembered, for the attributes both of mind and of character that distinguished him to the last, and on which his name and honors still rest.

As he advanced, his course became more obvious, and was more distinct and well defined. The boy who had read Homer for his pleasure continued to pursue, as a man, the classical studies which constitute so much of the discipline

needful for those who would think with exactness, and use their own language correctly and gracefully. But he soon found that books were wanting to him. The idea of printing the Greek and Roman classics was not yet entertained in the United States. Even of the poorest and commonest manuals, including grammars and dictionaries, nearly all were imported from Europe as late as 1800, the year he was graduated. A translation of Cicero's *Cato Major* — made by the venerable James Logan, a Scotch gentleman educated in England, and subsequently the founder of the Loganian Library at Philadelphia, — which was published in a thin quarto volume in 1744, by no less a person than Benjamin Franklin — was the best and almost the only effort that had been made in the United States before the present century to translate any ancient classic, and it had been long forgotten, when Mr. Buckminster revived the memory of it by a pleasant notice in the *Monthly Anthology* for 1808. *Sallust*, printed at Salem in 1805, in a modest duodecimo, and praised by Mr. Buckminster, as it deserved to be, the same year in the same *Review*, was the first attempt made in the United States to print an edition of a classical author, with anything like original notes and illustrations.\* He had therefore no resources in the press of his own country.

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\* The *Sallust* printed at Salem in 1805 is a duodecimo volume of 276 pages. It was edited by two scholars, who desired no other reward for their labors than the pleasure of rendering a service to the cause of letters in their country, and of affording a useful manual to the youth about to be admitted to Harvard College, where the reading of *Sallust* had just before been required as a preparatory study. One of these scholars was Mr. John Pickering, who had already passed some time in Europe, partly in travelling on the Continent, and partly as private secretary to Mr. King, our Minister Plenipotentiary in England. The other was Mr. Daniel Appleton White, who had recently been Latin Tutor in Harvard College. Both, at the time they assumed the pleasant task of preparing this "editio emendatior," were students at law in the office of Mr. Samuel Putnam, a distinguished counsellor in Salem, and afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The Preface was written by Mr. Pickering, and is modest, as was his whole life; the selection, composition, and arrangement of the notes, and the general supervision of the press, fell to both alike. The edition, in its selected as well as in its original portions, does honor to the two gentlemen who prepared it; one of whom, Mr. White, a judge of one of our courts of law, has survived his friend and coadjutor, and offered a beautifully faithful tribute to his memory as a jurist, a scholar, and a man worthy of all praise, in a Eulogy delivered before the American Academy, of which Mr. Pickering, at the time of his death, was President. The little *Sallust*, edited by these two young friends, and soon forgotten amidst the cares and honors that awaited them in life, was published by Cushing & Appleton of Salem; the latter of whom was graduated at Harvard College in 1792. But, soon after its appearance, nearly the

This compelled him to look abroad. As soon as he had means, he sent to Europe and purchased such books as he needed ; and when he was there as a traveller for health, possessing a small fund which he had inherited from his grandfather Stevens, he expended a large part of it in stores for his library. On this point of accumulating books, he had a strong feeling nearly akin to a sense of duty ; and used words about it such as were not heard in his time from anybody else among us. In a letter, dated London, May 5, 1807, after alluding to the apprehension he entertained that his memory might have begun to fail, under the terrible malady which seemed always to be stretched like a dark cloud over his hopes, he writes to his father : —

“ You will perhaps say, that it is no very strong proof that I have any serious apprehensions on this score, that I am continually purchasing and sending out books, and saying to my mind, ‘Thou hast goods laid up for many years.’ True ; — but though I may be cut off by the judgment of God from the use of these luxuries, they will be a treasure to those who succeed me, like the hoards of a miser scattered after his death. I consider, that, by every book I send out, I do something for my dear country, which the love of money seems to be depressing almost into unlettered barbarism.”

The consequence of all this was, that, in the latter years of his life, he had a library, not indeed large, as libraries are now counted, but really rich and select, — better than any other in the country on the subjects to which he had especially devoted his inquiries, and always open to those who desired to use it as such a collection of books ought to be used. It was the largest and by far the best private library that had then been brought together in this part of America. It set the decisive example which has since been followed so well. And it is not too much to say, that from that library, and the spirit that dwelt and wrought in it, — from the influence of its possessor on the young men of his time, and from the encouraging facilities he gave them to pursue studies for which it was difficult and sometimes impossible

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whole edition was destroyed by fire ; and, in consequence of this accident, a copy of it has now become so rare, that it was with difficulty we procured one to revive our recollection of its merits. Besides the notice by Mr. Buckminster already mentioned, which is in the *Monthly Anthology*, Vol. II., 1805, p. 549, the original Prospectus by Mr. Pickering may be found in the *Literary Miscellany*, Cambridge, 1805, Vol. I. p. 198.

elsewhere to procure fitting means, — it is not, in our judgment, too much to say, that the impulse still felt in the pursuit of classical accomplishments in Boston and its neighbourhood is to be traced to that spot, rather than to any other in New England.

But, as Mr. Thacher has well said, in his beautiful and affectionate memoir of the friend he survived so few years, "it was the light which philology pours on the records of our faith and hope, which gave it its chief value in the mind of Mr. Buckminster." This, in fact, was — from the time he felt assured of the truth of Christianity as a miraculous revelation — the starting-point of his theological studies ; and the course on which he then entered was never interrupted till the moment when he was so suddenly summoned from the midst of his labors. For, the fact of such a revelation having been once settled in his mind, the only important questions that remained open to him, either as to the doctrines it enforced or as to the character of the teaching it implied, regarded the genuineness of the different parts of its records, and the meaning to be attached to the whole of them.

To determine, as far as he could, these grave questions, was undoubtedly the great end and object of his scholarship. For this purpose, he collected, in order to illustrate the Scriptures in their original languages, and especially in order to illustrate the New Testament, an *apparatus criticus* unequalled, at that time, on any part of the American continent. He devoted himself earnestly to the study of Biblical criticism, and when he had made a progress in it such as was then thought desirable by hardly anybody else among us, he encouraged and assisted others to enter on the same course. It was owing to him, more than to anybody else, that his friend, Mr. William Wells, was able to publish, in 1809, a reprint of Griesbach's Manual New Testament ; — the first instance of a Greek book printed in the United States with great care and accuracy, and, as we suppose, still the only instance in which a Greek book, printed in Germany, and reprinted here before its appearance in England, was ordered from the American publishers to supply the demands of British scholars. It was he who, in the Boston Monthly Anthology,\* first discussed subjects of Bib-

\* We should be glad to think that justice will ever be done to the "Monthly Anthology and Boston Review," as the pioneer to that better scholarship and more generous spirit of inquiry which, we hope, may be said

lical criticism in a spirit of philosophical and pains-taking learning, and who, more than his other friends, encouraged Mr. Norton to take the advanced tone of inquiry implied by

now to have obtained a firm foothold in New England. But, probably, this will never happen,—so few persons are there among the living, who recollect the circumstances under which that journal first appeared, or who will make such allowances as ought to be made for it in consequence of the difficulties it afterwards encountered, during a period of great discouragement, both as to our public relations and private welfare and prosperity.

Its first number was printed at Boston, in November, 1803, and was edited by Mr. Phineas Adams, a graduate of Harvard College two years earlier. But Mr. Adams, partly from his youth, and partly from other circumstances, was little fitted for the task he had assumed, and, in his hands, the experiment failed at the end of six months. In May, 1804, it appeared under the management of the Rev. William Emerson, pastor of the First Church in Boston, whose many cares soon forced him to transfer the superintendence of the Anthology to Mr. Samuel C. Thacher, afterwards so much known and loved among us. Both of these gentlemen naturally interested as many literary friends as they could in their undertaking, and meetings were soon held, especially at the houses of Mr. Emerson and of Dr. John S. J. Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church, a frank, warm-hearted gentleman, and a good scholar, who owed some of his early training to Dr. Parr of Hatton. At last, in order to give greater consistency and efficiency to their labors, a club was formed; a constitution was adopted; and all subsidiary arrangements were made, that seemed needful for a more active management of the Anthology, and a wider diffusion of its influence. From October 3, 1805, regular records were kept, and regular meetings held, until July 2, 1811, when the disasters of the times, united with other causes, destroyed the Anthology, as they did so much else that was then germinating in our community;—the last number having been published at the end of June, with a farewell address by Mr. Thacher.

Considering all the circumstances of its career, the Anthology Club may perhaps be said to have had a somewhat long life. Certainly it had a most pleasant one. Dr. Gardiner was its President almost to the last, and was succeeded by Dr. Kirkland. Mr. Arthur Maynard Walter, whose early death is noticed with such tenderness and eloquence by Mr. Buckminster, in his Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, was one of its most efficient members, and Mr. Buckminster himself was another. Besides these, Mr. S. C. Thacher; Mr. Emerson; Mr. William Tudor, subsequently the founder of the North American Review, and our Minister to Brazil; Mr. Alexander H. Everett, who, after serving his country with ability and honor in Holland, Belgium, and Spain, died as its representative in China; Mr. McKean, Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College,—wrote much for its pages, and sustained it faithfully. All these scholars and gentlemen, with others like them, a few of whom still survive, constituted a most agreeable society, whose weekly suppers, generally protracted to a very late hour, were rendered interesting by the scholarlike discussions they naturally called forth, and gay by the genial humor of more than one of the members thus brought together, and the uncommon social resources of nearly all. The responsibility of conducting the Anthology rested, of course, on the shoulders of the gentlemen composing this little club, which rarely collected more than six or eight members round its cheerful board, and never went beyond fifteen. But they were assisted by friends abroad, who added much to their strength;—by Mr. John Lowell, Mr. John Pickering, the two Presidents Adams, father and son, Mr. Fisher Ames, Chief Justice Smith of New Hampshire, and Chief Justice Parker of Massachusetts,

the publication of the *General Repository and Review*, whose first numbers only he lived to welcome. It was he who, by the consent of all, was appointed first lecturer on the foundation laid in Harvard College, by the elder Mr. Dexter, to promote the knowledge of sacred literature ;— a duty which he assumed only a year before his death, and for which he was earnestly preparing himself when he was suddenly cut off. In short, it was he who first took the critical study of the Scriptures among us from the old basis, on which it had rested during the Arminian discussions of the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present one, when little more learning was thought needful than could be found in such books as Macknight on the Epistles and Campbell on the Gospels, and placed it on the solid foundations of the text of the New Testament as settled by Wetstein and Griesbach, and elucidated by the labors of Michaelis, Marsh, and Rosenmüller, and by the safe and wise learning of Grotius, Le Clerc, and Simon. It has, in our opinion, hardly been permitted to any other man to render so considerable a service as this to Christianity in the Western World.

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Dr. Bowditch, Mr. Justice Story, Dr. John Eliot, Professor Frisbie, Mr. Allston, Mr. Haven of Portsmouth, and others among the dead as well as among the living, whose names might fitly be associated with theirs. But no single individual labored with more interest for the *Anthology* than did Mr. Buckminster; and none, considering his many urgent duties and his uncertain health, rendered it such effective service. Above forty of its articles—some of them of great value, and many showing a learning then little known among us—are from his pen. His name appears, at the opening of the records of the club, as that of one of the first persons who offered the contributions to which they bear witness; it occurs again in the same way, as the very last on their closing pages; and there now lies before us a complete set of the *Anthology*, which, just before his death, he caused to be bound with care, and in which, on leaves inserted for the purpose, in each volume, he intended to write a history of the publication, and of the club of friends that managed it. Indeed, he was always active in whatever concerned its interests, and always anxious to make it useful to the progress of a liberal and sound scholarship. It was at his earnest solicitation that a department for retrospective reviews of American literature was established, and it was he that wrote both the notice introducing it to the public in January, 1808, and several of its more important articles; all which had much influence in reviving a knowledge of old American books, and of old books relating to America. And when, somewhat earlier,—in May, 1805, and at subsequent meetings,—under the leading of Mr. William Smith Shaw, one of the members of the club, arrangements were made for establishing the “*Anthology Reading Room*,” which two years afterwards became the “*Boston Athenæum*,” no one gave more active assistance to the project of his friend than Mr. Buckminster;—an assistance which, as we see from Mrs. Lee’s life, was very important while he was in Europe, and which, as we know, was continued in other ways to the moment of his death.

But Mr. Buckminster's great popular success was where his friends expected and hoped that it would be ; — we mean as a public teacher of the religion of Jesus Christ. From the first sermon he preached at Brattle Street to the last, delivered by him only ten days before his death, no man stood between him and the general respect and admiration of this community. During the five or six years which, excluding his absence in Europe, constituted the entire term of his ministry, he was, beyond all question, the most popular and effective preacher in New England. Dr. Freeman, a man remarkable for his integrity and simplicity, for his candor and faithfulness, for his clear, vigorous thought, and the beautiful transparency of his style of writing, had, when Mr. Buckminster was ordained, preached for nearly twenty years at King's Chapel with so little general effect, that, notwithstanding the veneration felt by his congregation for his virtues and talents, their number had not been perceptibly increased. Dr. Kirkland, at the same period, had been settled nearly eleven years at Church Green, and his sermons, full of intellectual wealth and practical wisdom, with sometimes a quaintness that bordered on humor, had yet never been inspired by the peculiar genius of pulpit eloquence, and, while they had satisfied and gratified minds of the highest order, had, especially from a defect of manner in their delivery, fallen with little power on the multitude. Mr. Emerson, transplanted to the First Church in Boston six years before Mr. Buckminster's settlement, possessed, on the contrary, a graceful and dignified style of speaking, which was by no means without its attraction ; but he lacked the fervor that could rouse the many, and the original resources that could command the few. And Dr. Channing, four years older than Mr. Buckminster, had been ordained a year and a half over the very small society in Federal Street, which his extraordinary gifts afterwards made so large ; but he was struggling with feeble health, and with a sensitive, conscientious spirit, which cast a shade over his great powers, and prevented them from taking effect on the community which, in time, he leavened with so much of his spirit, or from being known at all to the country at large, which now so widely acknowledges his power. Except these four distinguished preachers, however, there was not one in New England who could come into competition with Mr. Buckminster, when he entered the ministry ; — not one with whom he would



naturally measure himself ; not one with whom he would be measured by others.

But he was as different from all of them as they were from each other. His beautiful, beaming countenance was eloquent for him before his lips were opened. His rich, flexible voice ; his gracious manner, natural almost to carelessness ; his solemnity and earnestness, especially in his devotional exercises, — all were felt deep in the hearts of all who listened to him. Sure we are, that those who once heard him will never lose the impression of his peculiar style of elocution, for they have heard nothing like it since ; — so remarkable was it for a union of sweetness and solemnity.

As a preacher, he was very bold. He lived in days of much trial, when, in consequence of commercial restrictions, this city, which was then almost entirely dependent on foreign trade, was much reduced in its wealth ; and when not a few in all conditions of its society were exposed to temptations which had not approached them in the days of their prosperity, and which, happily, we have not since been called to encounter. To such Mr. Buckminster spoke with great plainness, — sometimes with a plainness distasteful to many of his congregation, who, if not implicated in the commercial irregularities of the time, yet shared in the general suffering, and could not willingly hear men rebuked, in whose unmerited misfortunes they deeply sympathized. Some traces of this Christian courage are found in his published works ; — many more must lie buried among the faithful practical discourses in which he every Sunday explained to his people their commonest duties, and which, if they have now less literary value and general interest, were not at the time less effective or important than the rest.

In the same way, he spoke with great freedom and plainness when he touched on the political divisions of society. Party spirit then ran very high. Since the time of the Revolution, it has never been so bitter or so violent as it was in the four or five years immediately preceding the war of 1812. Many men among us, during that disastrous period, felt that they were struggling for their subsistence, — for the home-comforts of those dearest to them, — for the order and well-being of society. Mr. Buckminster sympathized with them in their hard trials, and, in the main, his opinions were like theirs ; but he countenanced none of their excesses, and shared none of their bitterness. When Gov-

ernor Sullivan died in office, during the crisis of the commercial restrictions which he and his party had supported, and which were then breaking down whatever was most valued in New England, Mr. Buckminster rendered him a tribute of just praise, which was, no doubt, unwelcome to the great majority of those who heard it, but which was paid in sincerity, and showed alike his courage and his reverence for the truth. No one of those who then heard him, as he preached from the text, "None of us liveth for himself," will ever forget the tones of his voice, the solemnity of his manner, the faithfulness of his rebuke, when, turning from the mourners to the crowd and to the occasion, he said,—

"My hearers, you have come up hither to listen to the praises of the dead; I have gained my purpose, if you retire with the conviction, how empty are the praises of a mortal. The ear is deaf which once heard me; the tongue of the orator is motionless; the lips cold and rigid on which persuasion hung; and the hand which held the pen, and bore the sword and staff of office, fast clenched in death. And, having seen all this, can you go away, and think of anything but God? Can you forget, in an instant, the inexpressible vanity of this world's honors? They have only dressed up another victim for the tomb. We have bestowed upon the departed all that man had to bestow; the pomp of procession, the spectacle of numbers, the solemn knell of departed dignity, the noise of military honors, the pageant of a funeral, tears, prayers, condolence, the decorated coffin, the long inviolated tomb,—all, all was to be found, but him on whom these honors were bestowed. Every eye and ear were sensible to this respect but his to whom it was paid.

"And now the noise of the crowd has ceased, the pageantry of office has vanished, and the tomb is still; is there nothing left of the loftiest officer of the Commonwealth? Nothing, my friends, of all his honors, but the services which he has rendered to society. What he did for himself is no longer heard of; what he did for others can only embalm him."—*Works*, Boston, 1839, Vol. II. p. 315.

But, every week, he was as faithful as he was on the gravest and most imposing occasions;—often he was more eloquent and powerful;—for it was the greatness of truth that animated him, and not the greatness of anything in the course of human events. Indeed, it was frequently said, that he was less happy in what are called occasional discourses than he was in his customary ministrations;—a remark,

however, which should be subjected to two striking exceptions, — the Discourse before the Female Asylum for Orphans, and the Address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, — in each of which he produced an effect such as has rarely been witnessed anywhere on similar occasions.

In the first, the text of which was taken from Saint Paul's exhortation to the Philippians, — "Help those women which labored with me in the Gospel," — as he approached the conclusion, after having addressed the orphan children before him, he turned to the multitude that thronged the church on all sides, —

"What remains, then, my Christian hearers, but that you should help these women? I beseech you, in the name of that sex which you profess to admire; in the name of that religion which has given you wives whom you can respect, and children of whom you hope everything, send them not away empty. I beseech you, in the name of these little ones, of whom Jesus would say, 'Suffer these children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven,' — I beseech you, in the venerable name of Jesus himself, the affectionate friend of this sex, who was always ready to lay his hands on their orphans and bless them, — hear what our blessed Lord saith: 'Take heed, that ye cause not one of these little ones to offend'; — how much more, then, to perish! — 'for verily I say unto you, their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven.' What! their angels do always behold the face of God? Perhaps, then, they are witnesses of this scene. Perhaps they will carry up with them to their blessed seats the story of this hour's bounty. Perhaps they may consent to join in the songs of thanksgiving which we send up to the ear of the Most High, in joy of this day's charity. Do you say that these are only illusions of a heated or a benevolent fancy? Be it so. But this, at least, is certain, that, in a very few years, these orphans will themselves bid adieu to this world and its neglect, to this world and their benefactors. Children! may you carry with you to heaven the remembrance of this day's goodness; or, if your hopes and mine should now be disappointed, plead for us, dear children, at the feet of the God of mercy, and obtain our pardon from the Father of the fatherless, and the widow's Friend." — *Works*, Boston, 1839, Vol. 1. pp. 411, 412.

As he spoke these stirring words, a solemn movement was perceptible through the assembly; and when, a few moments afterwards, the vast crowd that had listened to him

broke up, and was returning home in a silence unwonted on such occasions, it was plain that an impression had been left on their hearts, such as is rarely produced by eloquence of any kind, and never, except when, with the force of some great truth, it appeals through the imagination to some great principle of our common nature.

A similar effect — so far as a merely literary festival could afford an occasion for it — was witnessed during his address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society. His subject, chosen with a happiness granted only to genius, was “The Dangers and the Duties of Men of Letters”; and his rebuke of superficial education and of the love of party notoriety, as distinguished from the love of country; his admirable comparison of Cicero — generously active in public affairs, and yet bearing the full fruits of a true love of letters — with Atticus, who scorned the service of the state from Epicurean selfishness, and died and left no record of his graceful genius; his warning to the young to sanctify their learning with religion and devote it to the cause of truth and human improvement; — all these, and indeed all the other striking passages with which it abounded, were received with a turbulent rapture, which, after the lapse of forty years, does not permit us to regard it as anything less than the most brilliant and successful *merely literary* discourse ever delivered in New England. What a burst of applause followed the words he spoke, when he addressed himself to the foul spirit of party, which, in that age of overbearing faction, carried captive the most promising young spirits of the time, and which, alas, in our own more quiet days, seems to have lost little of its baser attractions, if it have parted with something of its earlier insolence!

“Everywhere there are dangers and evils, of which some affect the intellectual improvement, and others are unfavorable to the moral worth of literary men. In this country, especially, it too often happens, that the young man, who is to live by his talents, and to make the most of the name of a scholar, is tempted to turn his literary credit to the quickest account, by early making himself of consequence to the people, or rather to some of their factions. From the moment that he is found yielding himself up to their service, or hunting after popular favor, his time, his studies, and his powers, yet in their bloom, are all lost to learning. Instead of giving his days and nights to the study of the profound masters of political wisdom, instead of patiently

receiving the lessons of history and of practical philosophy, he prematurely takes a part in all the dissensions of the day. His leisure is wasted on the profligate productions of demagogues, and his curiosity bent on the minutiae of local politics. The consequence is, that his mind is so much dissipated, or his passions disturbed, that the quiet speculations of the scholar can no longer detain him. He hears, at a distance, the bustle of the Comitia, he rushes out of the grove of Egeria, and Numa and the Muses call after him in vain." — *Works*, Boston, 1839, Vol. II. pp. 345, 346.

His bright and beautiful features, transfigured with enthusiasm as he uttered these glowing words, and his eager manner, as he leaned forward with the earnestness of his emotions, are still present to us. The very tones of his voice stir us still as with the sound of a trumpet. They sank deep into many hearts; and more than one young spirit, we have reason to think, was, on that day and in that hour, saved from the enthrallment and degradation of party politics and party passions, and consecrated to letters.

It was in the pulpit, however, and in the ordinary exercise of his duties as a public teacher of Christianity, that, as we have intimated, his great effect was produced, and his great influence acknowledged. The highest minds, perhaps, felt most his peculiar power; the originality of his views; his cogent statement of truths which had not before been placed in the same striking light; his union of a vigorous reason and strong, manly sense, on one side, with a rich, graceful power of illustration on the other. But even the less cultivated of those who heard him did not fail to recognize his instinctive sagacity in detecting error, and his apostolic firmness in rebuking sin; his devout earnestness to produce in his hearers a religion of the heart and the life; his catholic spirit, which knew no bitterness, and infused none into the discussions of his time; the daily beauty of his life, which enforced his teachings and fulfilled them, leaving nothing for his friends to regret or conceal, and nothing for those opposed to him to assail; his admirable self-devotion, which, while he saw that he was perhaps standing on the threshold of death, or might be called to linger out a life gloomier than the grave, still prevented him from avoiding any labor, or any sacrifice, however arduous or severe, and strengthened him to walk with gladness in the path of duty, as if neither danger nor darkness were before him.

At last the messenger came, — without such warning as all had feared, and with a crushing blow. Mr. Buckminster died at Boston, on Tuesday, June 9th, 1812, at noon, after a few days' illness ; and his father, who was journeying for his health, died in Vermont, the next morning, without any knowledge of his son's condition, but saying, with almost his last breath, " My son Joseph is dead " ; — adding, when assured that he must have dreamed, " No, I have not slept, nor dreamed ; — he is dead." The effect was electric. However accidental the coincidence might be, and however men might be persuaded that it was so, all acknowledged its strangeness, and few failed to be conscious of its influence.

As we have said, at the beginning of our remarks, the moment when these striking events occurred was one of great public anxiety and depression. Only a few days afterwards, war was declared by the United States against Great Britain, and, for nearly three sad years, the thoughts of men were mainly occupied with the troubles and dangers that inevitably accompanied their exposed condition. There was, therefore, — partly in consequence of this state of things, — a lull in the storm of theological controversy ; or, at least, the warfare of the opposing political parties became so urgent and engrossing, and the fate of more than one generation seemed so much involved in it, that there was less room for religious bitterness, and little willingness on the part of the community to listen to its occasional recriminations.

But the " odium in longum jaciens " of Tacitus was still there ; and when peace came to the troubled world, — when the ravages of Bonaparte in Europe were no longer the subject of endless wonder and speculation, and when the minds of men at home ceased to be agitated with alarm for what was most important to their own external condition and to the wellbeing of those nearest to their hearts, — then they seemed to feel, that, with the other luxuries restored to them by peace, they might indulge themselves anew in the luxury of religious animosity. But, whatever may have been the cause, no sooner was one war ended, than the other broke out. The " Liberal Christians," as they were then called, — or, in other words, the Christians of Boston and its neighbourhood, who had long ceased to acknowledge the authority of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and now refused to submit themselves to the exclusive and excluding spirit of Calvinism, — had, for some time, been assailed by the party

claiming to be the only Orthodox or Evangelical Christians, and accused of concealing their opinions in a cowardly and hypocritical manner. This railing accusation, made at about the period to which we refer, in forms and in language more offensive than ever, was so injurious in itself, and so wholly unjustifiable in its tone, and in its general statements, that the parties directly denounced did not feel themselves bound by Christian charity or courtesy to submit to it or to its consequences. Dr. Channing, therefore,—a man eminent for moral courage, and one who, earlier, had been reckoned among those inclined to the opinions then called “Evangelical,”—answered the charge in a letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Thacher, in June 1815, showing its wrongfulness, and exposing the bitter tempers of those who denied to men like Buckminster and Tuckerman the name of Christians and the charity of a Christian fellowship. Replies and rejoinders followed, as a matter of course; and the controversy was carried on with fervor through the period beginning with Mr. Sparks’s ordination at Baltimore, in 1819, and ending soon after the consecration of Dr. Dewey’s church at New York, in 1826;—the period in which Liberal Christianity asserted its rights, and established its influence in those great cities, and so called forth an unwonted degree of zeal and violence from its enemies. This state of things continued, in fact, till after 1830; since which time the fierceness of the attack has died away, or at least has gradually lost much of its unchristian spirit.

But, in the course of this long warfare, the *Labarum* of Liberal Christianity, which Mr. Buckminster had done more than any other man of his time among us to plant on the high ground of the Bible, as interpreted by the private judgment of its Christian readers,—this true standard of the Cross has been removed,—whether by the skilful strategy of its assailants or by the unsound principles of defence adopted by its friends, it is useless here to inquire;—but it has been removed, and it has been planted on the ground of “Unitarianism,” as if the doctrine of the Trinity were the only, or the chief thing, that separates Liberal Christians from Papacy or Calvinism, from the Methodists or the Baptists. This we regard as a misfortune to the great cause it claims to lead on. For, from this time, and in consequence of this movement, the old body of “Liberal Christians” has lost something of its original and kindly comprehensiveness, and

more of its peculiar character. It has become a denomination and a sect, like other denominations and other sects. It has felt obliged, in some degree, to pass without censure, if not to receive into its fellowship, persons who are Unitarians only because they believe in the unity of God, while they deny all miraculous authority to the Christian revelation. It has been placed before the world in a false position, where it is more easily assailed than it ought to be, and where its defences are necessarily rendered weaker by being so much extended, as, on the one side, to include some whom it cannot protect and ought never to countenance, and, on the other, to shut out those generous and independent Christians of the elder school, who are its natural allies, and safe and honorable support.

To such a change Mr. Buckminster, we are persuaded, would never have been a party. His early education ; the character of his mind ; the sound learning he loved ; the devout reverence for the Bible as a miraculous revelation of God's will to man, which he cherished in his heart of hearts, — all would have resisted it, and, as we believe, would have resisted it effectually. Has, then, Christianity — faithful, devout, liberal Christianity — really gained by this change of its position, and by the course which many of its leading friends have pursued, since, thirty-seven years ago, they turned with grieved and broken hearts from the grave of its most brilliant and powerful defender, and assumed the solemn duties cast upon them by his early and sudden death ? The next generation will sit in judgment on this question, and will answer it.

G. T.

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We have great satisfaction in being permitted to add, to the review just closed, the following letter from Professor Norton, written in reply to a request for information on the origin and progress of liberal views of Christianity in New England, and on Mr. Buckminster's relations to them. It has a value and an authority which can be increased by no remarks of ours.

Eds.



MY DEAR SIR :—

I regret that I have been prevented by ill-health from answering your letter before, and I fear that I must answer it now in a way equally unsatisfactory to you and to myself.

As you know, there had been from an early period, I cannot say how early, a resistance to the rigid Calvinism of our forefathers, and to their false conceptions of religion. The authority of their system was broken in upon by the publication of Roger Williams's "*Bloody Tenent*," in 1644. I cannot from memory trace the history of this resistance. Perhaps—I place no confidence in my recollections—the most important work against the *peculiar doctrines* of Calvinism, which subsequently appeared, was just a century later,—a work published in 1744, entitled, "*Grace Defended*," by Experience Mayhew, the Indian missionary, and the father of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew. But, from the middle of the last century, there was a considerable and increasing body, both of the clergy and the laity, who rejected with more or less explicitness the doctrines of Calvinism, and modified the doctrine of the Trinity into what has been called "*high Arianism*," that is, into the proper, ancient, Arian doctrine. The name Arminian soon began to be familiarly used to denote such heretics, often with some epithet of disrespect, as I recollect that my mother has told me that old Dr. Gay of Hingham was called by her grandfather, (Colonel Richmond,) who had no personal ill-will toward him, "*a plaguy Arminian*." The tendency to separation between the two parties had, indeed, commenced before the middle of the last century, and was increased by the preaching of Whitefield in this country, who arrived for the first time in 1740. His extravagancies and denunciations gave offence, and tended to weaken the credit of his doctrines. The College at Cambridge took the liberal side. The second Professor of Divinity, Dr. Wigglesworth, was not a Calvinist. I cannot speak with confidence, from my own examination, about the opinions of his father, the first Professor, though materials enough exist for ascertaining them, but I believe there is no doubt that he inclined to the Anti-Calvinistic side.

This controversy, as men did not reason in those days from their spiritual intuitions, implied learning, and a critical knowledge of the Scriptures, after the fashion of those times. These studies extended even to the laity, some of whom

were interested in settling their faith for themselves. One of the earliest books which I read relating to the exposition of the Scriptures, many years ago, when quite a young man, was a copy of the original edition of Taylor on the Romans, borrowed from the family of an old gentleman of Hingham, (Colonel John Thaxter, who died in 1802, at the age of eighty-one), which he had formerly recommended and lent to my father.

Besides the main controversy between "the Orthodox" and "liberal Christians," there were other controversies, which kept alive a spirit of inquiry, and attention to theological learning generally, and particularly to the critical study of the Scriptures; such as those respecting Episcopacy, and the doctrine of the final salvation of all men, in both of which Dr. Chauncy particularly distinguished himself.

But if my recollection serves me correctly, there was in the last twenty years of the last century a suspension of controversy between our two great religious parties, a lull in our theological world, broken only by the writings of Hopkins and his followers and opponents, which added nothing to the theological learning of our country. This condition of things was in a great measure produced by the state of public affairs in our own country and in Europe, which engrossed men's thoughts and feelings. Religious opinions were less clearly defined; clergymen, holding, as they conceived, opposite doctrines, did not in all cases feel bound to keep aloof from each other. This state of things continued into the present century; but the truce was soon broken.

One of the first symptoms of the renewed struggle was the appearance of the *Panoplist*, I think in 1804. In that publication I do not recollect anything marked by its learning or its power of general reasoning. It did nothing to promote theological science. But the flame which it was intended to kindle blazed forth on the election of Dr. Ware, who was a liberal Christian in the best sense of the words, and a good theological scholar, to the professorship of divinity in the College. This was in 1805. But the controversy which followed was not managed with extraordinary ability by the liberal party. Through the influence of many causes which rendered the fact natural and excusable, members of that party were not sufficiently explicit in the avowal of their opinions; there was a tendency among them to represent themselves as not essentially disagreeing with their opponents;

and in general, though the superiority of the liberal party in learning was then acknowledged, they wanted the learning necessary to give them assurance in their opinions, and to enable them fully and satisfactorily to explain and defend them. The feelings of resistance in the other party were very strong and active. They denounced their opponents as enemies of the Gospel, and excluded from the hope of salvation. This strong language, which may sound so strangely in our times, is fully supported by the controversial writings of that period. I may refer especially to the different Letters of Dr. Worcester to Mr. Channing, Dr. Worcester having come forward at a later date (in 1815) as a champion of the Orthodox party. The prestige of Orthodoxy continued very powerful, and there were many whose own opinions would have borne no severe test, who yet shrunk from any direct opposition to it. I cannot fix the precise date, but it was after 1805, that I was informed by a young minister, that, on his professing his disbelief of the Trinity, he was told by one of the most distinguished clergymen of Boston, and a most liberal-minded man, that he had better not publicly avow it.

It was in this state of things, in 1805, when he was not yet twenty-one years old, that Mr. Buckminster was ordained as pastor of the society in Brattle Street. In less than eight years, — eight years interrupted by constant ill-health, and by constant labors and avocations connected with his ministry, — he was taken from us. The blossoms and fruits of his mind — ripe fruits — appeared together. I have nothing to add to the opinions I expressed, immediately after his death, in the "General Repository," concerning the influence of his genius, his learning, his whole character, in promoting and giving an impulse to all good literature among us, and especially to the liberal and enlightened study of theology. These opinions were afterwards confirmed by the corresponding views presented in the excellent memoir of him, by his friend and mine, Mr. Thacher. This memoir, and the notices of him in the General Repository, (there were two,) are prefixed to the last edition of his Sermons.

Though I cannot do it without some personal reference to myself, I will go on to mention a few facts which throw light on the state of religious opinion and feeling, and theological learning, during the period of which I have spoken. In 1812,

I published, as editor, the first volume of the *General Repository*. I suppose I need have no hesitation in stating, what was then generally recognized, that in this work the tone of opposition to the prevailing doctrines of Orthodoxy was more explicit, decided, and fundamental than had been common among us. The first article in the volume, entitled "A Defence of Liberal Christianity," was written by myself. Mr. Buckminster expressed to me, on his own part, no dissatisfaction with its sentiments, but told me of a remark made on it by our common friend, Mr. Vaughan of Hallowell, the pupil and friend of Dr. Priestley, — that it reminded him of what the English Unitarians had been called, namely, "the Sect of the Imprudents." For one who should read it now with only a knowledge of the present state of religious opinion and feeling in our country, it might be difficult to discover why the writer should be thought to belong to the sect of the Imprudents. But, in 1809, Mr. Buckminster had said, in a letter to Mr. Belsham, (published in Williams's *Life of Belsham*,) "Do you wish to know anything of American Theology? I can only tell you, that, except in the small town of Boston and its vicinity, there cannot be collected, from a space of one hundred miles, six clergymen who have any conceptions of rational theology, and who would not shrink from the suspicion of antitrinitarianism in any shape."

But the publication of the *General Repository* soon failed for want of support. It was too bold for the proper prudence, or the worldly caution, or for the actual convictions, of a large portion of the liberal party. Mr. Channing, in a defence of those who were then among us beginning to be called Unitarians, in his "Letter to Mr. Thacher," published in 1815, said of it, "As to the *General Repository*, I never for a moment imagined that its editor was constituted or acknowledged as the organ of his brethren; and while its high literary merit has been allowed, I have heard some of its sentiments disapproved by a majority of those with whom I conversed." When, in 1819, I was elected Professor of Biblical Criticism, the President of the College, Dr. Kirkland, informed me that Mr. Channing, who was then a member of its Corporation, was willing to assign me the duties and the salary of the office, but objected to giving me the title of Professor on account of the injury it might be to the College to make so conspicuous its connection with one holding such opinions as mine.

Its decided character, however, was not the only obstacle to the success of the General Repository. It was overburdened with learning, or with what passed for learning among us, out of proportion to the amount of theological knowledge, or interest in such knowledge, which existed among its readers. I gave in it an account of the controversy between Dr. Priestley and Dr. Horsley, the fame of which had not then died out; and this was continued through several numbers. Dr. Kirkland, with his usual happiness in giving advice indirectly, told me that people said "I was writing what nobody but myself understood." Still an effort was made by its friends to promote its circulation. In 1813, a recommendation of it (unsolicited by me) was published as a circular, bearing the signatures of five of the most respectable laymen of Boston, — Samuel Eliot, Samuel Dexter, Dudley A. Tyng, Joseph Hall, and John Lowell. But it was not thought advisable that any clergyman should sign it.

The facts which I have stated, few as they are, may throw some light on the oppressive bigotry which prevailed among us during the life-time of Mr. Buckminster. I am tempted to add another proof. A passage comes to my recollection of a lecture which I delivered in the College Chapel, about the year 1816 (I cannot fix the precise date). I have looked it up in the manuscript, and find it to be to this effect: —

"'Whatever an ill man believes,' says Jeremy Taylor, 'if he therefore believes it because it serves his own ends, be his belief true or false, the man hath an heretical mind; for to serve his own ends, his mind is prepared to believe a lie. But a good man, that believes what, according to his light and the use of his moral industry, he thinks true, whether he hits upon the right or no, because he hath a mind desirous of truth, and prepared to believe every truth, is therefore acceptable to God; because nothing hindered him from it but what he could not help, — his misery and his weakness, — which being imperfections merely natural, which God never punishes, he stands fair for a blessing of his morality, which God always accepts.' This is admirable. — But it is melancholy to think, that we have so long been accustomed to nothing but what is bigoted, and narrow, and irrational on the subject of religion, that we feel delight in the expression of any generous or manly sentiment, though it be nothing but the most obvious truth. We are like those who have been so long confined within the walls of a prison, that they

are filled with emotion at being restored to the common light and air."

When we consider that it would be an absurdity too gross to be imagined, for one among us at the present day to deliver in a lecture the concluding remarks on the passage of Taylor, we may comprehend what a vast change has taken place since they were written.

I was some time since as much vexed as there was any occasion for being, (which, to say the truth, was very little,) by a passage in a note by Mr. W. H. Channing to the Preface to his Memoir of his uncle, in which he says, that, in a sketch which he had written "of the rise and progress of the Unitarian controversy," but forbore to publish, "the rightful position was assigned to the General Repository, as the advance-guard of Unitarianism proper." What he meant by the words "Unitarianism proper" I do not understand; nor do I conceive him to have had any distinct meaning in his own mind. No work, in opposition to what its writer regarded as prevailing errors concerning religion, could have less connection than the Repository with anything that may be called "Unitarianism proper," unless by this term be meant simply Antitrinitarianism, — a sense which, as appears from the connection in which it stands, could not reasonably be intended. The common use of the words "Unitarians" and "Unitarianism," to denote a sect and the opinions of that sect, was, I think, introduced among those who had before been called "Liberal Christians," by Mr. Channing, through his Letter to Mr. Thaxter, published in 1815. The Orthodox had endeavoured to fix that name on Liberal Christians invidiously, for the purpose of confounding them with the English Unitarians of that time, and of making them responsible for all the speculations of members of that body. Mr. Channing, though recognizing it as an ambiguous term, and remonstrating against the use made of it by the Orthodox, and carefully defining that by Unitarianism he meant only Antitrinitarianism, yet adopted the appellation as the distinctive name of those in whose defence he was writing. In a note to this Letter, he explains that he regarded the name, Liberal Christians, as too assuming; "because the word *liberality* expresses the noblest qualities of the human mind." That name, however, had been familiarly applied by the Orthodox to their opponents, without any intention either of complimenting them or of sneering at them.

The name Unitarian gradually became prevalent among

us, and those by whom it was assumed combined into a sect. They thus quitted the high ground on which they had stood, or might have stood, in company with the good and wise, the philosophers of different ages and different denominations, — with such men as Erasmus, and Grotius, and Locke, and Le Clerc, who, according to their light, opposed the religious errors prevailing round them, and were “the liberal Christians” of their day. They exchanged this for a connection with the English Unitarians as they then existed; and notwithstanding the credit conferred on that sect by the eminent talents and great virtues of Priestley and the sturdy honesty of Belsham, this connection was an unfortunate one. They were obliged continually to explain that they were not to be held responsible either for the metaphysical doctrines or for many of the religious sentiments of its more conspicuous members, — that they agreed with them only in being Antitrinitarians. There are times in which religious truth is exposed to particular persecution and obloquy, when it may be well for its defenders to combine into a sect for mutual encouragement and support. But the pressure from without must be great to render it advisable. The combination implied in the formation of a religious sect at the present day, with a distinctive name, is attended with great evils. It is, however, favored by many through their love of sympathy, and from the excitement of party feeling, or because, as members or zealots of a sect, they may attain to a consideration which, as standing alone, they could not possess. But religious truth, the great means of improving the condition of mankind, is not to be ascertained and made efficacious through the combination of men into religious parties, though its influence may be greatly impeded by such combinations.

The name of “Unitarians,” to whatever honor it had been raised by the persecuted “Polish Brotherhood,” the *Fratres Poloni*, in the seventeenth century, was an unfortunate name to be assumed in the beginning of the nineteenth, by a sect among us. It was explained as denoting merely a disbelief of the doctrine of the Trinity, and as including all (that is, as was then meant, all *Christians*) who rejected that doctrine, whatever might be their differences of opinion respecting the language of Scripture which has been supposed to relate to it. But were Christian sects at the present day to be founded at all, it must be bad to found them on disbelief, and especially, as in the present case, on the dis-

belief of a particular doctrine, — that of the Trinity. It is giving this doctrine a solitary place of preëminence among a multitude of other errors all linked together, and some of them equally, or even far more, disastrous. The ill consequences of a name of such indefinite comprehensiveness, and so easily abused, when this name is assumed by a religious party, were not at once perceived. But they have become conspicuous. When a Unitarian was first spoken of among us, a unitarian Christian, as I have said, was meant. But the adjunct “unitarian” has succeeded to a great extent in dispossessing the substantive “Christian” of its power; and the Christian Unitarians among us have found themselves brought into strange connection with such men as Fox and Martineau in England, with the pantheists Spinoza and Schleiermacher, and with the most noted of modern infidels, Strauss, — all of whom I have seen praised, and recommended as religious instructors, in what were professedly Unitarian publications. Some of the obscurer ramifications of the sect have even intertwined themselves with the Fourierites and Communists of France.

I have already got beyond the date of the period to which your inquiry related. But I am unwilling to conclude with the few sentences last written. What is now wanting to the progress and influence of rational religion among us is a revival of the feeling of the importance of religious truth, — a practical conviction of the fact, which, however obvious and indisputable, does not seem to be generally recognized, that it is only by religious truth that religious errors, with all their attendant evils, can be done away, and of a fact equally obvious, that, in the present conflict of opinions, minds disciplined in habits of correct reasoning and informed by extensive learning, minds acquainted with the different branches of theological science, which embraces or touches upon all the higher and more important subjects of thought, are required for the attainment and communication of religious truth. In one word, it is learned and able theologians who are wanted, — such men as Mr. Buckminster.

I wish I had more reason to hope that this letter may be of any service to you. Such as it is, it is wholly at your disposal.

Very truly yours,

ANDREWS NORTON.

*Cambridge, 17 May, 1849.*



## ART II. — HYMNS FOR THE SANCTUARY.\*

THIS work, prepared for the use of the West Boston Society, has evidently been compiled, not only with great care, but also by persons possessing eminent qualifications for the task. It exhibits throughout a laborious and discriminating fidelity in selection, a high appreciation of poetical and devotional merit, and, what is most essential, a high idea of the true nature of a hymn-book. In addition to these weightier matters, much pains have been taken to restore hymns to their original form ; and we consider it one of its excellencies, that it has retained those evangelical words and phrases, which some seem to regard as obsolete, but which in reality come down to us hallowed and made alive by the associations of centuries of Christian history and experience. We welcome its appearance, and none the less heartily that there have been so many works of a similar kind lately published.

It is a great, though common mistake, to suppose that our hymn-books are very much alike. The truth is, that, though they contain so much in common, they differ scarcely less than original works which treat of the same general subject. The different trees of the forest are composed of similar elements, but differently combined ; — the result in one case is an oak, and in another an elm. The same general features are in every human face, but so combined that no two men entirely resemble each other. So the materials of these works of devotion are to a large extent the same, but they differ finally, in the result, as much as the characters of their compilers. A man's peculiar taste is seen even more in what he selects than in what he writes. As a writer, he may fail altogether of expressing what is in his mind ; but what he selects represents his real tastes and tendencies. Thus, a good hymn-book, instead of being a work within the competency of any one who may incline to attempt its formation, requires not only literary taste and culture, but the religious character, experiences, and emotions which enable one to understand what are the true characteristics of a psalm to Almighty God.

We will not compare this work with those of a similar

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\* *Hymns for the Sanctuary.* Boston : Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 111, Washington Street. 1849.

kind which have preceded it, further than to say, that, at the least, it must be placed in the same rank with the very best we have. Others have their peculiar merits, which would be estimated differently by different persons. Instead of entering into any comparisons, we will state what we consider to be the characteristic merit of this work.

Its distinguishing characteristic is, that it is specially suited to be used in the devotions of a Christian assembly. This might seem to be true of any book of hymns; but we use the words emphatically. The title of the work might have properly been, "*Hymns for the Christian Sanctuary.*" We think this a matter of such primary importance, that, notwithstanding the narrow limits allowed to us for it, we must explain what we mean.

There are poems by Byron and Moore on religious subjects; but the religion is subordinate to the poetry. You might possibly call them religious poems, but in few cases Christian hymns. Then there are large numbers of hymns which attempt to give expression to the religious sentiment, but which neither in tone nor in thought imply the recognition of any truths except what would commonly be classed as those of Natural Religion. They are religious, but there is nothing about them to mark them as Christian. They express nothing which would not be responded to by religious unbelievers. There is another class, just now popular, of those which do not so much embody the religious sentiment, as certain vague and generally languid sentimentalisms about religion. They are subjective and egotistical. They express none of the higher emotions, whose roots are in the moral and intellectual convictions, and which are blended inseparably with the will; but only transient moods—the mere shifting sunshine and shadow—of the mind. They often contain pleasant verses and graceful turns of thought; but, like all things egotistical, they have little permanent value as poems, and none at all as hymns.

There are others written in a higher mood. The best examples are to be found among those of Watts. The distinguishing peculiarity of Watts's hymns is not the poetry, nor the excellence of the lyrical form, remarkable as they are for both; it is far deeper and more vital. They are expressions, not merely of the religious sentiment, but of the religious sentiment colored, directed, inspired by the Christian faith. They imply an intense faith in the sovereignty and

providence of a personal God, in the inestimable importance of the mediation of Christ, and in those truths which make the Christian religion what it is. The religious sentiment is formed around this faith, — is embodied in and blended with it. They express not only the sublimest sentiments of devotion, but the devotion of one who looks up to God, and abroad on man, and into the human heart, from the Christian point of view, — of one who worships God through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The use of Watts's hymns in an assembly of pantheists or anti-supernaturalists would be absurd. They would be utterly out of place. There would not only be perpetual contradiction between the sentiments which they express and the minds of those who used them, but their characteristic and real merits would be unintelligible to persons whose religious feelings had become conformed to such different ways of thinking.

We do not speak of this as their sole excellence. As mere lyrical poems, they are among the finest in the language. We have heard his openings remarked upon as being, almost invariably, noble bursts of lyrical devotion. The criticism was as just as it was discriminating. Whatever may follow, the first lines of Watts's hymns are the fitting preludes of grand poems. They lift up the mind to the sublimest heights of thought and emotion. They are so superior in this respect to any thing else in our religious literature, that you might distinguish a hymn of Watts by the free, soaring, lyrical grandeur of the first line, almost as certainly as by seeing his name prefixed. In his best productions, what follows is worthy of the commencement. In grandeur and breadth and elevation of thought, they are as much above the great proportion of hymns, as the masses of Mozart or the symphonies of Beethoven are above the pleasant melodies which are the delight of every piano and hand-organ for a month, and then disappear for ever. And when, as he often does, he falls below this high level, he furnishes the standard by which we measure the depth of his fall.

There is another class of hymns of great merit, and not to be dispensed with, such as the Wesleyan and Moravian. But they do not rise to so high a level. They are the hymns of a meditative and mystical mind, which lingers among the clouds, and sees things, it may be, through a golden mist, but still through a mist. They are pervaded by a sentiment of almost passive, Oriental acquies-

cence. In Watts's hymns, there is the same spirit of submission, but it is the submission of a vigorous will, which, as with a fresh, heroic joy, chooses God as the infinite good ; and with this, not a spirit of mere quietism, but an active sense of moral obligation.

One other characteristic of Watts's hymns is, that the emotions expressed are the developments, the flowerings out, of intelligent and settled convictions. As we read the best among them, a beam of light shines through and over the lines. It is as when one looks up from the shadows below, into the top of a tall tree through which stream the rays of the descending sun ; you are in shadow, but on that high summit every twig is tinged with light, and every leaf waves in golden radiance. Or rather, his song soars up like the bird which rises to meet the morning, and whose wings catch the sunbeams, while all below is yet in darkness.

Of course, among the hundreds of hymns which Watts wrote, large numbers possess little value, and not a few are mournful failures. But those in which he was most successful, better than any others we have, give utterance to the highest Christian experiences. To such an extent is this the case, that we undertake to say, that, in any Christian congregation, during a time of religious apathy, his hymns will be little used, and this because of a secret sense of inappropriateness ; and that, as religious life is awakened, the strains of Watts will more and more frequently rise from the lips of the assembled worshippers. It is because they express the highest Christian experiences, that they maintain their place. Every year, multitudes of new ones are written, to attract for a time by their novelty, and then to perish with the autumn leaves ; while we turn back again to the imperishable hymns of Watts, which, though old in years and familiar in form, have the perennial freshness of truth and of all true emotion.

Our estimate of the volume which has suggested these remarks may be best understood by our saying, that, to a remarkable degree, in making the selection, the true idea of a hymn seems to have been steadily kept in view. The volume is not a chance aggregation of religious pieces without principle or end. It is not a selection of religious poetry in general, but a selection of hymns for Christian worship. The principle by which the compilers have evidently been governed is, we believe, the true one, and the only one

which will lead to the formation of a work of permanent value. In describing the characteristics of Watts's hymns, we have described what appears to us most characteristic about this volume. It has many minor merits, but this point is so essential, that, in comparison with it, other things seem unimportant. Probably some few of the hymns have been selected because of personal associations with them, rather than on account of their intrinsic value ; and most readers may miss individual pieces which are interesting to them because of similar associations. There are also several hymns which would generally be considered as ranking among the best, which, we are sorry to see, have not found a place in this book ; but, of those commonly known which are omitted, we think, on the whole, that the number is small which may not, without any serious regrets, be suffered to drop out of a collection of this kind. The work gives abundant evidence that there presided over it as vigilant a taste in what was rejected as in what has been adopted.

We have suffered our remarks to extend beyond the ordinary limits of a notice, for several reasons. The preparation of a hymn-book is no work of a day, nor for a mere literary artisan. It requires much labor and peculiar qualifications. It is very important, too, when a church adopts a new hymn-book, that it should be a good one. And in the multitude of new collections issuing from the press, it is desirable that the characteristic excellences of those which may be regarded as successful should be understood. We might have stopped, after expressing in general terms our high sense of the good judgment, the taste, and the success with which this work has been prepared ; but, for the reasons we have mentioned, we have thought it better to enter into a more particular account of its merits. We will only add, in conclusion, that any church, about to adopt a new hymn-book, will do well to give this a careful examination.

E. P.

## ART. III. — RESPONSIBILITY FOR OPINION.

[A Discourse, delivered before the Alumni of the Divinity School of the University at Cambridge, July 16, 1849. By Rev. EDWARD B. HALL, D. D.]

IN the failure of those whom you invited to address you on this occasion, brethren, I have come at the request of your committee, who were naturally desirous of preventing, at least, a total failure. And as the Association of the Alumni did not themselves suggest, and could not anticipate, this choice of a speaker, the committee alone are responsible for the result.

Desiring to find a subject not inappropriate, yet not the same as that which the occasion has usually suggested, — a true or false theology, — I venture to speak of that which belongs alike to theology and to all departments of thought ; namely, Thought itself, as it takes the form of opinion, and grows into conviction, exerting the influence, and bearing the responsibility, of belief. Our Responsibility for Belief, or rather for Opinion, in the popular and freest use of the word, is a subject which almost every one must approach with a deeper sense of its importance than of his power to throw upon it any new light. To show how strangely its importance is forgotten or slighted by the mass of thinkers, yet how greatly exaggerated or misrepresented by preachers and sectarists of every name, — to present its practical and spiritual aspects, apart from its metaphysical questions, or as still remaining, in whatever way those questions are decided, — to indicate the direction in which freedom, duty, and responsibility lie, in connection with opinion, — and to quicken, if I may, our own sense of accountability, as believers in anything, but especially as teachers of sound doctrine, — is my present aim.

Looking, first, at the facts of the subject, we see, in one direction, the utmost license and recklessness as to opinion, — opinion as such, the mere process of forming a judgment, the act of believing, independently of the matter believed. Indeed, the common use of these terms for one another, — opinion and belief, — and the indiscriminate application of all similar terms, — faith, doctrine, sentiment, persuasion, — show us that men see no difference between a notion and a conviction, and are as ready to speak and act from one as from the other.

So, commonly, no difference is recognized between doubt and unbelief, skepticism and infidelity. Spending no time now upon precise definition, we speak of the process or act by which the mind reaches a conclusion or forms an opinion. And this process or act, we say, is thought by many, probably by most men, to be of very little consequence in itself. It is assumed, that opinion and belief are wholly involuntary, subject to no laws of our own making, to no influences which we can control, possessing no moral freedom, and therefore no moral character or responsibility. The whole process, if not the result, of believing, is taken to be the accident of birth, age, country, constitution, established religion, and prevailing custom,—as little a matter of choice and accountableness as a man's form or features. This is one extreme. In another direction, we see a close approach to the opposite extreme. Opinion is regarded and treated precisely the same as conduct. It is said to be a part of conduct, and by some seems to be considered the most important part. It has been lifted above conduct and character. No kind of character has been so magnified in importance as each kind of opinion by those who have held it. Soundness is deemed better than sincerity. Heresy is worse than immorality. The manner of living is not so sure a passport to favor here, or acceptance hereafter, as the manner of thinking. Not profound thinking; that has been seldom demanded, and least in religion. Not charitable thinking; no system or church has made this one of its conditions. Not free thinking; that is the most dreaded of all. But right thinking, according to the inquisitor's rule, and independently of everything else. Mere opinion, conformed to opinion. Less than this even; the mere declaration of conformity, with little questioning as to its sincerity or consistency, and often in circumstances which seem to contradict both. Still the declaration must be made, and will be accepted where nothing will be accepted in place of it, but eternal penalties annexed to a different declaration. Nor is it the least remarkable fact, in this connection, that those who insist most upon such a declaration, as obligatory and essential, hold views of the human mind and the Divine decree, which render doubtful, if not impossible, the power of compliance with such a demand. We speak of it intellectually now. Belief in predestination and election, in the original depravity of the will, and in the total inability of the agent, would seem to be at variance with

voluntary, instant, virtuous assent, or free and criminal dissent. Yet the one is required, and the other forbidden, at the most fearful peril, irrespective of the nation or land in which the individual was born, the religion in which he was trained, the mental and moral light or darkness by which he has been invested. Even John Foster, whose views of retribution force his own brethren into a perplexing concession, both as to freedom and piety, asserts, "that no man can become good, in the Christian sense, but by this operation from without, on the part of the sovereign agent, and independent of the will of man."

Again ; looking out upon the world of mind as it is, we see many, and never more than now, encouraging all possible freedom of opinion and expression, in all men, on all subjects ; and not only so, but making a virtue of this freedom. He is the best thinker, who thinks most freely ! He is the strongest in mind, and commonly the wisest, who decides with least hesitation, and pronounces with most confidence, on every question that arises. The coward he, or the imbecile, who doubts and waits ; the bigot, who would fix limit or law to free thought. And of these also, who thus talk, observe the inconsistency. They extol doubt, where most men believe. They think the better of the skeptic whose skepticism turns upon generally received truths. It is weak and puerile to wait, or want other light than that which the mind itself emits ; but still weaker and more puerile, to believe by a light from above, though agreeing with the mind's own light. Hasty and confident believers in anything, or nothing, are of higher intellect than deliberate, assured, humble believers in revelation ! Opposed to this class of reasoners, we find the great body of Christians, as far off as they can get, but not beyond inconsistency ; denouncing all doubt and unbelief as sinful and accountable, except the doubt and unbelief which agree with their own. For, against that which they believe, stands that which they disbelieve ; and this they reject as hastily as possible, with as little examination, knowledge, or thought of responsibility, as the wildest and hardest exhibit, in their belief and unbelief. In short, belief and unbelief, haste and caution, firmness and wavering, are judged by their company rather than their character. He who passes quickly from one entire system of faith to another wholly unlike it, worshipping this Sabbath in St. Paul's and the next in St. Peter's, is either a super-



ficial, skeptical, lost scorner, or a profound, illumined, sanctified believer, according as he goes in the one or in the other direction ; and no earthly discernor shall be able to say in which transition, or which resting-place, there was most of belief or unbelief. There may have been very little in either, and still less of the sense of responsibility.

Again ; we see the passive receiver and unreflecting retainer of opinions commended and thought secure, while the diligent inquirer and careful discriminator is condemned. Abstractly, all agree with the Apostle in urging the duty of "proving all things" ; but it is only on condition that the good which is "held fast" shall be of one kind. Investigation has always been looked upon with distrust and apprehension, on the side of the believer ; it is only in the unbeliever, or the dissenter, that it becomes a duty and a virtue ; and this, though the act of the mind is precisely the same, and, so far as we know, the intent of the heart the same, in both cases. This rashness of judgment, showing either gross ignorance, or entire disregard, of the nature of belief and charity alike, appears in every sect. We all commend those who think with us, even if it be evident that they scarcely think at all, but have merely consented to grow up in the old faith, blindly inferring that all is right. Let one of them begin to doubt, inquire, dissent, and this, which may be his first self-movement and real belief, disturbs us ; nay, changes our estimate of the man's intellect. Were it only dissent from others, even from the creed and worship of his childhood and life, and assent to our own, however suddenly, ignorantly, angrily, the change were made, we could bear it, and many would praise it. As it is, there is only weakness or wickedness !

And so it comes to pass, that, as all men are dissenters as well as believers, all are weak or criminal in regard to their belief. And the reverse must be equally true ; for if there be imbecility or sin in mere dissent, there must be intelligence and virtue in mere assent, and all discrimination and religion are confounded. One is amazed to find even such minds as Dr. Johnson's (though, it is true, his force of intellect spent itself less in religion, than in superstition and prejudice) arguing for the greater probability of sincere conversion in proportion to the amount of belief, rather than the amount of evidence. "A man," he says, "who is converted from Protestantism to Popery, may be sincere ; he

parts with nothing ; he is only superadding to what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up so much of what he has held as sacred as anything he retains, there is so much *laceration of mind* in such a conversion, that it can hardly be sincere and lasting." A singular judgment this upon the sincerity and reality of the Reformation ! especially when we remember the fact, which will hardly be disputed, that, of all believers, Romanists are most easily satisfied with a nominal conformity, an external sign, or verbal recantation. It is sufficient proof of the inanity as well as the tyranny of an absolute rule of faith, that it is content, if it can bring a man to pretend to renounce a physical truth, and hear him swear that he does not believe the earth moves, when he knows it does move.

Such are some of the obvious facts, as to the common estimate of the nature and value of opinion. They indicate a confusion of thought, a mingling of truth and error, wisdom and folly, on a question which, in one view, takes precedence of every other ; namely, How far are we responsible for the views we entertain of any subject, and the influence which they exert upon ourselves or others ?

The general answer to this question, and a practical and important answer, as we conceive, is very easy. We are responsible for our views of truth, and our opinions on all subjects, just so far as we have anything to do with their formation, or the power of knowing and controlling their influence. And if any say that this is no answer until we know what the power is, we reply, you may say the same of all responsibility. The difficulty is not peculiar to opinion, if you make it a question of certain knowledge or precise degree. The whole inquiry is needlessly embarrassed by this unreasonable demand. You cannot determine the exact measure of responsibility for any individual mind or man, in any connection, not even in the case of those nearest you, or indeed in your own. The exact measure is known only to the Omniscient ; determined, as it must be, by countless influences beginning at birth or before birth, beginning no one knows where, and exerting a possible influence at any and every point of time and character. None can tell the precise degree of accountableness of the vicious man, the intemperate, the criminal, the open murderer, compared with others of similar character, or with those held innocent. This, in any view, is an immense consideration, one that

should check the haste and temper, the confidence of all human judgment, inspiring the deepest humility and the largest charity. But should it prevent all discrimination? Does it annihilate accountableness? If not in connection with conduct, neither in connection with opinion. No greater difficulty presses upon the one than upon the other; and to represent it as greater and peculiar here is an evasion rather than an argument. The question, fairly stated, is one of fact, not of degree. And where it touches the degree, it is again the same as every other question of obligation and duty. The degree is according to the power, — the power of knowledge and control, in the past or the present. Responsibility of every kind, for the use of all talent, is “according to every man’s ability.” This we know. Of this we are as sure as of anything in religion or moral character. It is the rule of Christ; it is the simple, equal, essential principle of human accountableness; and it is as applicable to thought and opinion, in their formation and character, their expression and influence, as to anything else.

The whole question pertains to the fact of ability. Has a man any power over his opinions? And it is something to admit that this is the whole question. It goes very far, unless we greatly mistake, toward answering itself, when thus stated. For there probably is not a man living, of any intelligence, who will assert that we have *no* power over our opinions. There is not a man, whose consciousness, experience, and observation do not assure him that he has some power of this kind. His trouble is, to know “how much” he has. We do believe that this question of degree, which we have just dismissed, is at the root of the whole perplexity. It is that men see plainly, more plainly, they think, in regard to opinion than conduct, the impossibility of knowing all the influences that have operated, and all the power of resistance, or the individual disposition; and therefore insist, very fairly, that we cannot determine the exact responsibility in any case, — and thence infer, very unfairly, that there is no responsibility at all. Now we hold them to the prior and greater question. Do you mean to say that there is no power at all? You will not pretend that you know that; — do you believe it? Do you not believe and know, that, in all common cases, if not in all considerable cases, the individual has some power, and his character some

influence, over his opinions, — their sources, their intelligence, their soundness and effect? If you do know this, or believe it, it is enough. It constitutes responsibility. And the very fact that you do not know the degree of that responsibility should make you the more anxious, not the less, to use your power well, for yourself and all.

The fact of responsibility for opinion, then, — which is all we want, with a deeper and more active sense of it, — we infer, first, from general admission, if we may not say universal consciousness and conviction. And, say what you will of other forms of the question, — confound, convince, or confute the inquirer and the disputant as you may, upon the metaphysical or theological points, — it proves nothing against the fact, and amounts to nothing, compared with the importance of the truth, which men know in their hearts, that they have done something, may do much, to affect that which affects everything, — opinion.

The power of opinion! From this, and the conscious sense of it, the growing conviction of its importance to religion and society, we draw another inference for responsibility. The power of opinion is becoming a matter of wearisome repetition. It is seen to be only another expression for the power of mind, a simple fact, but one that does not seem to have been always obvious, or always allowed. In some way, hardly definable, mind and opinion have been separated, and their importance has been differently viewed. Religionists have summoned men to answer for their opinions, at the very moment that they have forbidden them to use their minds. Apart from all question of power, they have prohibited the use of power, — thus admitting it. Man must believe, but he must not think. He must be convinced, but he must not reason. He must see and discard his error, but beware how he exercises that faculty of his nature which alone discerns error and truth. Or, he may use his mind upon everything except its conclusions! He may form his own opinions, save where they are most important. Opinions, it is owned, are vastly important. They are essential. They mould the man. They make the age. They shape the laws, constitute literature, lead philosophy, define morality, arm the Church, usurp the throne, and move the world. Nor this world only. Opinions are the arbiters of human destiny. The mind is the man; and the state of the mind determines the doom of the man. Thought is sovereign;

and He who made it so decrees, in its character, the condition of the immortal soul. This is said, in one form or another, with more or less accuracy, and for different ends, by almost all classes of religionists and theorists ; and every one feels, that, however inaccurately presented, it has its foundation in truth, and assumes an importance not easily overstated. But how is it to be reconciled, is the question, with the denial or doubt of the mind's liberty and responsibility ? Is this mighty power, of which you so speak, all motionless and helpless, like so much dead matter ? Is it subject to every law but its own ? Does it bend beneath every breath of circumstance, and yield passively to every straw that floats against it, though itself the mightiest force in the universe ? We have power and responsibility, all say, in the use of muscle and money ; have we none in the use of mind ? What is it that controls the use of muscle and money, if not mind ? What power of any kind belongs to man, as man, but the power of mind ?

And here, again, the common consent of mankind goes against every idea of necessity and irresponsibility. Every form of religion, every pretence of obligation and duty, supposes freedom and accountableness. So do all law, justice, prohibition, penalty. It is curious to see how universally the conversation and conduct, the intercourse, interests, expectations, and common sense of the world, take for granted, and think it absurd to question, or rather never think of questioning, that which the theorist tells us is philosophically impossible. It is also curious to see, that those who suppose the mind wholly self-governed in all ordinary action and opinion suppose it a prisoner, a tool, or a plaything, the moment it enters that province where its highest powers are demanded, the highest truths and motives presented, and its every sentiment and motion associated with merit or demerit, salvation or perdition. There is contradiction here. Mind is one. Thought is spirit. Opinion, belief, faith, are attributes of humanity in its connection with Divinity. And if they are not free and accountable, nothing is free, and nothing accountable.

From man's confession, we look for another argument and illustration to God's declaration. And, omitting the more obvious inferences fairly drawn from every commandment, appeal, warning, and punishment, we take a single fact in the history of God's providence ; namely, his dealings with

the chosen people. The prejudice of the Jew has passed into a proverb, and by many is quoted as a perpetual miracle. If prejudice ever carried with it its own apology, it would seem to be here. If prepossession, false interpretation, corrupt teaching, universal opinion, and supposed prediction, can fasten upon the mind and will of man a helpless and sinless bondage, it must be in this instance, in relation to the character and work of the expected Deliverer. He appeared, and never has there been, never could there be, anything more unlike, than he and his religion, to all that had been preconceived and supposed to be Divinely promised. What was the result? That which was to be expected, we say; and which, according to fixed laws, could not be otherwise. Did *God* so regard it? Did he hold that people guiltless, in their treatment of his Christ? Did Christ himself, even in his predictions of their conduct and his fate, intimate that there was anything involuntary and irresponsible in all this? He did say, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin." And if their sin had no cloak, it will be hard to weave one out of any materials that preconception and error furnish, even with the aid of prophecy and predestination. Language cannot easily approach nearer to the expression of intellectual and moral inability, than does much that is applied to the Jews, in reference to their belief and its influence. Yet, be it noted, in most of this language, strong as it is in its assertion of the power of prejudice, there is a constant blending of the mind with the heart, and an almost defining of inability by indisposition. "For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them." And then there is the comprehensive account of the whole, which Christ gives in the language also of prophecy, intimating a guilty motive in the Jews, and the absence of all excuse. "They hated me without a cause." Hatred is of the heart; and it has something to do with the mind, its vision, its opinion, and its responsibility.

When, indeed, in the light of all else that God has taught us by our nature and his word, we read the history of his ancient people from its beginning to this hour, with all the influences that acted upon their understanding, and all the

consequences visited upon their conduct, we are led to fear that we talk too lightly, and with little discrimination, of the innocence of error and the excuses of unbelief. There is such a thing as a *duty* of believing. The eye was made for light, and light is adapted to the eye. There is a wilful blindness. There is a spiritual darkness. And "if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" Truth may be loved, or it may be hated; the effect cannot be the same, but the truth remains, and duty remains. Our responsibility for the portion of truth that we hold, and for the use of mind and life in testing truth, and removing error from our own and other minds, is very serious. In our intercourse with error and infidelity, we have something to do besides addressing the understanding. In one of Dr. Arnold's letters from Rugby, on this point, there is a union of charity and faithfulness which should be more common, for the sake of both. "You may say," he writes, "that the individual in question is a moral man, and you think not unwilling to be convinced of his errors; that is, he sees the moral truth of Christianity, but cannot be persuaded of it intellectually. I should say that such a state of mind is one of very painful trial, and should be treated as such; that it is a state of mental disease, which, like many others, is aggravated by talking about it; and that he is in great danger of losing his perception of moral truth, as well as of intellectual, — of wishing Christianity to be false, as well as of being unable to be convinced that it is true. There are thousands of Christians, who see the difficulties which he sees quite as clearly as he does, and who long as eagerly as he can for that time when they shall know, even as they are known. But then they see clearly the difficulties of unbelief, and know, that, even intellectually, they are far greater. And in the mean while, they are contented to live by faith, and find, that, in so doing, their course practically is one of clear light; the moral result of the experiment is so abundantly satisfactory, that they are sure that they have truth on their side."

In the next place, we remark, there is much in our very use of language on this subject, which ought to bring us either to change our form of speech, or to admit and feel its import, and the personal responsibility it implies. What do we mean by "candor" in forming and retaining opinions? What is meant by being "fair or unfair," in examining the

merits of a question, and deciding upon that which is offered as truth either by man or God? Leave the question of accountableness for previous prejudice; is it, or is it not, in the power of a man to deal fairly or unfairly with his mind, in its present state? Can he be just or unjust in regard to his very prejudices, earnest or careless to learn their sources and watch their influence, reasonable or unreasonable, as to his knowledge or ignorance, his habits of thought, his mode of inquiry, his use of opportunity and capacity? He would be thought a fool, who should deny all power of this kind, and all moral difference. Every one knows that it is as easy to be honest or dishonest, in the use of mind, as of anything else. And yet this admission, single and simple enough, decides the whole practical, the whole moral question. No matter how we dispose of other questions, if we admit this, we are responsible for opinion; and the responsibility is not a light one. We see, also, precisely where the responsibility lies, and how it is to be weighed. It concerns not the state of the mind necessarily, but the use of that state, and of the mind itself. It concerns not the kind of opinion now held, so much as the manner in which it has been formed or is retained. It concerns not the different conditions of heathenism, Judaism, or Christianity, nor yet the thousand fences within the Christian field; but the individual use of such mind, light, opportunity, and power, as may be enjoyed within either province, or offered from another. In a word, the responsibility pertains not to doctrine, but to disposition,—not even to belief or unbelief, so much as to mental and moral fidelity in regard to one's belief or unbelief.

Here, besides a common error and danger, we suppose a peculiar error and danger to attach to those systems and sects called orthodox, which may be used for illustration. They ascribe immense importance, as they should, to opinion itself, and connect with it a fearful responsibility. But they direct it all to the condition of the mind, instead of fixing it upon the use of the mind. They make doctrine vital; but it is the shape, sound, or name of the doctrine, not the manner in which it was reached or is retained. They look upon their own congregations or denomination, and, seeing that their opinions are unchanged and unchanging, they are content. They look upon another denomination, like our own, and, seeing the opinions different, they are anxious, perhaps angry. Now we maintain that they have no reason or right to



be content with their own state, or to be troubled by ours. We say it, of course, intellectually, of opinion as such ; not denying that it is to be viewed morally, — for that we would inculcate throughout, — but denying that the moral character, or the responsibility, consists in the *kind* of opinion, which may be wholly accidental. That orthodox congregation, as they themselves would perhaps admit, does not possess a particle of merit on account of its orthodoxy. Its orthodoxy may not have any intellectual or moral character. It may be all hereditary, involuntary, unconscious, and void of merit or demerit. Not a child there, or a man, may have ever looked into his belief intelligently, inquiringly, responsibly. He may not have cared or dared to ask a single question, as to the correctness of his opinion. It may be correct ; but that does not prove that he is sound or faithful, still less that he is pious and a Christian. He may be a pious Christian, and be saved ; but it will not be by his orthodoxy, unless that has something more than an accidental origin, an allowed continuance, or a doctrinal essence. Nor, be his doctrine what it may, is he free from responsibility in regard to it. He is bound to use the mind, and his own mind ; to use his reason, and to enlighten it ; to use all his powers and opportunities in reference to this very matter of opinion. It is a momentous matter, as he says ; — let him not forget or slight his own concern in it. The responsibility which he preaches, and which we admit and urge, may reach deeper and farther than he is aware. It begins with himself, and concerns him more than any other, believer or unbeliever. It bids him look well to the sources of his own belief, to his fidelity to his own mind, to his openness to light and conviction, to his candor and thoroughness in seeking and comparing evidence. He may believe either with President Edwards or with President Day, as to the freedom of the will. He may hold to that which seems a necessary truth, indeed, and little more, — that the mind and the man must yield to the preponderating evidence or influence. Let him ask whether the preponderating influence, in his own case, may not have been education, fashion, prejudice, fear, ignorance. Let him settle this question about evidence, if no other, — whether there are not two ways of dealing with it, a fair and an unfair, a right and wrong way. Let him say whether it be not possible for a man, and a minister, to remain in ignorance or contempt of all the laws of evidence, the grounds of difference, the history of opin-

ion, and its dependence upon a multitude of circumstances, habits, feelings, and interests. Then, when he has been faithful to his own mind and belief, let him be just to other minds, and to men of a different belief. The responsibility goes there also. If he judge and condemn my belief, he is responsible both for the motive and the manner of his judgment. What does he know about my belief? Nothing but the name. Nothing as to the motive which has led to its adoption or retention; nothing at all as to the intent of the heart or the fidelity of the mind, the possible candor, diligence, love of truth, dread of error, earnest study of God's word, and daily striving to do his will, which may have attended and guided the formation of my opinions. These may have been greater in my case than in his, and they may have been less. Each is responsible for his own, and also for his judgment and treatment of the other. If my brother judge me by my opinions merely, and condemn uncharitably, while I have been faithful to my light, though in error, I would rather die in my heresy than in his orthodoxy. And if he take the position, that none are faithful to their light who do not come to his conclusions, we may well let him alone. There is a strong assertion of Chillingworth, which to some may seem over-bold, but which expresses something better than boldness: "If men do their best endeavour to free themselves from all error, and yet fail of it through human frailty, so well am I persuaded of the goodness of God, that, if in me alone should meet a confluence of all such errors of all the Protestants in the world, I should not be so much afraid of them all, as I should be to ask pardon for them."

We see, in this connection, another danger and error as to responsibility for opinion. That responsibility is singularly viewed by those who attempt to influence opinion by questionable means. Means of every kind have been used; and the worst most. Should we judge of men's views of the power of the mind over itself by their attempts to persecute it into truth, we should infer that they think very highly of that power. Their idea of free-will seems to be proportioned to their horror of free-thinking. A man is to be punished for doing what he must do, and then compelled to do what he cannot do. The absurdity of persecution exceeds even its wickedness. Its greatest achievement is the making of cowards, hypocrites, and dolts. Which has done most harm to religion and mind, — error, or the punishment of error? The

world groans with the sin of dissent. It has more reason to tremble for the sin of denunciation and intimidation. And this sin has not ceased. It is not confined to an age or a sect. Whatever form or weapon it has dropped, if it use all it dares to use, it is as bad as ever. Its bearing upon our present subject is one of its worst aspects and influences. Responsibility for opinion is invaded and mocked by every appeal to fear or favor. It is trifled with by all arguments from antiquity and authority ; by all undue consideration of names and numbers, popularity and patronage ; by all governments, or places of power and emolument, that make subscription to a creed a condition of office ; by all churches and seminaries that exact pledges of unchanging belief, and a periodical signing of fixed doctrines ; by all associations offering to ordain, or refusing to ordain, for conformity or non-conformity ; by all doctrine and discipline that impute guilt to mere opinion, or annex advantage to mere profession. When two prelates of the English Church, a few years ago, were arraigned for the crime of becoming subscribers to a "Socinian work," and were driven by public speeches, newspaper abuse, and ecclesiastical threats, into writing submissive letters to the higher powers,\* — when young men, who go out from New England, with a liberal faith, into distant States, are told and made to feel that their success in business, and their position in society, will depend upon their place of worship, — when Protestants who resisted domination, and Puritans who fled from persecution, and liberals who asserted absolute independence, use any power to overawe that independence, or impose upon it any law but personal responsibility to God, — they darken and degrade the whole idea of responsibility. All intimidation is perilous to truth. All intolerance offends alike against freedom of conscience and integrity of mind.

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\* In 1838, the Bishops of Norwich and Durham subscribed for a work published by Mr. Turner, a Unitarian, and, according to them, "a man of unblemished character and great talent." Whereupon, the clergy of several dioceses sent up "requisitions to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to institute an episcopal commission to inquire into the conduct of the two bishops," who, at the same time, were called in the Tory papers "consecrated culprits," "obscene and flippant pamphleteers," "time-serving remonstrants," "rotten liberals," "hardened criminals," "Judases," "perfidious prelates," "surpliced traitors," "white-robed ministers of Satan," "pet-sons of the devil," etc. ; until this shameful and ridiculous persecution had its designed effect, compelling the offenders to write submissively to explain and excuse their subscribing, on the ground that they did it out of politeness to Mr. Turner. — *LIEBER'S Political Ethics*, Vol. II. p. 196.

We have said nothing of the connection between *character* and opinion. It is too obvious to be dwelt upon, and too important to be omitted. The influence of opinion on life is not more sure than the influence of life on opinion. The former, indeed, is more apt to be qualified and uncertain than the latter. Opinions are often inert, or counteracted by other opinions. Life is action ; character is decision and influence. Error may be involuntary or inoperative ; vice cannot be. There are many good men under all forms of belief, though they might be better with better forms. There are many bad believers, whose propensities and iniquities would corrupt or neutralize the best faith. Truth may be held in "unrighteousness" ; and is not this unrighteousness even worse than when connected with ignorance and error ? Clearly, they who hold most truth, and claim to hold the best views either of piety or charity, are most responsible, both for the influence of these views on their lives, and the influence of their lives on the general belief or unbelief. None of us may be aware of the degree in which our character and daily conduct affect our faith, in its kind or its force. More books must be written, and wiser theories invented, before we shall be convinced that most men do not find it easy to believe that which they desire to believe, and hard to see reasons for that which reproves their habits and opposes present interest. Interest is a fearful element. There is no quality of mind, no pleading of truth, no weight of evidence, that it has not affected, and does not sometimes control. The first minds and the best men of the British nation found it difficult to perceive the iniquity of one of the most awful crimes that the world has known, that of the slave-trade, so long as it yielded thirty *per cent*. That infamous traffic, and the inhuman bondage it sustains, would never be defended from the Bible, as they now are by some sincere Christians and honest minds, could they be severed from the idea of profit and loss. We ascribe it not to motive, so much as to the nature of mind. There are other kinds of traffic in the midst of us, there are other common associations, there are lures of office, there are supposed interests of the nation, the party, and the employment, which suggest men's thoughts, which create their visions, which enlist their sympathies, affect their calculations, and work upon the passions, the judgment, the will, the belief, the whole mind and man ; and then, if other and lower influences come in to their aid,

and director, its importance is incalculable. We say not, as one has lately and boldly said, "There is nothing that God hates so much as false doctrine." He hates sin infinitely more. But false doctrine may begin in sin, or may lead to it. All falsehood is baneful. Error may be involuntary, doubt is not guilt, knowledge is never perfect, ignorance and unbelief are not inherently sinful or necessarily fatal. God alone sees the hidden springs, the early influences, the besetting temptations, the actual conflicts of each mind and heart; and to him alone is known the positive guilt or the comparative innocence of the erring believer or the struggling doubter. All have not equal power of faith or sight; all have not the same accountableness. But all are accountable, — and they most, to whom most is given. How great our accountableness in the reception, the study, the teaching, and whole use of the truth, — the truth as it is in Jesus!

Strange is it, verily, — and thus may we sum up our simple conclusion, — if such truth be not important, or not capable of being surely known, clearly stated, and firmly held. Truth is fact; and opinion is the admission or rejection of fact. The truths of Jesus are the facts of God's existence, character, government, and will. Opinion in regard to these is that view of God which makes him to be to us something or nothing, spirit or matter, person or only space, a Father or dumb fate. On such vast and deep questions, there is a right and a wrong, fact and fable. And he who turns fact into fable, or mistakes fable for fact, or holds and dispenses either or both irrespectively, mistily, recklessly, does it at the peril of happiness, here and hereafter. If *man* does not permit ignorance of his laws to excuse the offender, neither does God. The sinner is a sufferer. And as truth saves, error exposes to sin and suffering. For the use of all our powers and means of discerning truth from error, and saving ourselves and others from sin and suffering, we are responsible. On all subjects important to us, definite opinions are attainable, if God be merciful. On all points, where truth is essential and falsehood fatal, truth can be found, if God is just. With man it rests, every man in every position, to use all powers of thought, investigation, prayer, affection, decision, as an accountable and immortal being. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

## ART. IV. — EVIL.

WE have no doubt that dualism, the doctrine of a good and an evil principle, rather than monotheism, a belief in one God, is the natural result of a philosophy unenlightened by revelation. It was hardly possible, that, when men began to reason upon abstract subjects, they should not have readily reached the belief in a benignant Deity, or that, from the harmony that pervades and unites all portions of the benevolent system, they should not have inferred the unity of the Divine Being. But with no efficient agent at work for the neutralization of physical or the conquest of moral evil, with misery and guilt pursuing their separate route and fulfilling their deadly offices unchecked, it is not surprising that many of the philosophical systems of antiquity should have maintained the existence of an antagonist principle of evil, holding concurrent and always conflicting jurisdiction with the supremely Good. We regard a semi-omnipotent devil as an almost unavoidable blot on the creed of natural religion. "The Son of God was manifested, that he might" not only "destroy the works," but obliterate the very idea, and render obsolete the name, "of the devil."

It is a crowning peculiarity of the Christian revelation, that in it God assumes the paternity of evil, recognizes it as an essential portion of his system, — as a minister of good, — as an angel appointed for the discipline of the heirs of salvation, who by conflict with it are to struggle into a higher birth, and to grow into the full prerogatives of a godlike nature. Christianity asserts for itself entire power over every kind and form of evil, and claims for the supremely Good absolute control over all its modes of existence and manifestation. It represents physical evil as the direct appointment of his love, — moral evil as existing only by his sufferance, destined to decline and disappear in his own foreordained time, through the counteracting agencies which he has established.

In attempting an approximate solution of the problem of evil, we would first remark that Christianity involves it in no new difficulties. The attempt is often made by skeptics to discredit Christianity, on the ground of the desolating calamities that afflict our race, the unequal allotment of happiness and of privileges among men, and the multitudes that are born and die without the knowledge of the right or the capacity

of moral goodness. These are all positive facts in the actual system of things. They exist in full force, independently of revelation. Christianity, so far from creating them, has been constantly rendering them less salient, inasmuch as it has removed some evils and mitigated others, increased the ranks of the privileged, and made large aggressions upon the domain of darkness and ignorance. These difficulties lie entirely within the province of natural religion ; and whatever light the Gospel sheds upon them is wholly gratuitous, as it relates to questions which Christianity did not raise, and is not bound to solve.

We would make yet another preliminary observation. Even should we utterly fail of solving the problem of evil, we are not therefore to conclude that it does not admit of solution. It belongs to a system embracing all worlds and spanning twin eternities ; while we can extend our regards but a little way into time and space, and can take into our view, at best, but insulated and fragmentary portions of the Divine administration. If in any direction we can dissipate the nearest clouds, and get a glimmering of twilight through the darkness, the probability is that the clouds and darkness appertain to our position, not to the God-ordained system of things, and that, when we reach a higher and more commanding point of view, they will cease to intercept our vision.

In attempting to reconcile the existence of evil with the Divine goodness, we should begin by considering that the goodness of God is susceptible of demonstration, independently of all question as to the origin or uses of evil. A watch implies purpose, contrivance, and skill on the part of its maker, though the same man may have made a hundred other things that are clumsy, misshapen, and useless. The unnumbered marks of design and adaptation, which we can discover in the human frame, are sufficient to establish the wisdom of its Creator, even were there in the complex mechanism many organs the functions of which we could not discern. Equally do arrangements for expressly benevolent purposes demonstrate a benevolent design, even though there be portions of the plan of Providence in which we can trace no such design. Now these benevolent arrangements pervade every department of nature. There are innumerable provisions, not only for existence, but for enjoyment. In the senses, the affections, and the intellect, man has many endowments, and performs many functions in no wise essential

to the preservation or the transmission of life, and having no possible use or office except the promotion of happiness. The external world is full of sights, sounds, and flavors, which can have had no end but animal or human enjoyment. Contrivances for this sole purpose crowd upon our observation, as we extend it to the lower races of animals, with reference to which, moral discipline and an ulterior condition of existence cannot be regarded as a part of the Divine plan. The myriads of organized beings, that float on the summer breeze, swarm in the waters, and make the forest glad, — the unnumbered forms of microscopic existence, that fill the chinks and crannies of creation with sentient and happy life, — demonstrate the benignity of the Creator. These are all fixed and incontrovertible facts ; and unless we are at liberty to resort to the theory of dualism, they establish a strong probability that evil itself belongs within the circle of the Divine benevolence.

This probability is greatly enhanced by the consideration, that in the progress of knowledge there are perpetually developed new traces of beneficent design in objects or events previously regarded with doubt or terror. In these six thousand years, human research has not unmasked a single seeming good in the system of external nature, and proved it an evil ; while it has been perpetually unmasking seeming evils, and transferring them to the catalogue of good. Is there not, then, ample reason to suppose that higher orders of beings look on those portions of the system, which still seem to us only evil, as parts of the economy of love ?

In approaching nearer the great problem, we shall find that physical evil, apart from moral, presents no peculiar difficulties. Most of the keenest sufferings, even of good men, are the direct result of guilt. Bodily pain and death are the only forms of seeming evil, which, independently of guilt, are necessarily attached to the condition of man. But bodily pain is entirely compatible with perfect inward serenity and joy, nay, may be highly conducive thereto by the consciousness of conquest and of spiritual power which it affords ; and in numerous instances it so enlarges and clarifies the soul's vision, and so exalts the moral nature, as to become a source of the purest happiness ever experienced, and an object of the loftiest gratitude. Death, too, is but translation from one to another mode of being, and " the sting of death is sin " ; — were it not for the sad associations which sin has grouped



around it, it would be regarded with cheerfulness and hope. But, beyond these inflictions, all other evils that are endured are of man's creation. Look at the superabundance of means provided by God for human well-being. The earth has ample resources to furnish sustenance, comfort, and luxury for all its dwellers, without excessive toil on the part of any. It is by superfluous and unused wealth, selfishly amassed and sordidly hoarded, that the masses are ground down in bondage, over-tasked, under-fed, and often deprived of almost every human attribute. It is selfishness, avarice, war, and oppression, that have created the intense degradation and misery under which the nations groan. As regards also the knowledge of fundamental and essential duty, there is abundant reason to believe, that, wherever it has been wanting, it has been lost by human depravity alone. Sacred history represents the races of men as having started from the same point of religious knowledge, — as having been originally possessed of the most momentous of all truths, God's infinity, unity, and his retributive justice. The traditions of all ancient nations confirm this account, inasmuch as they reach back farther than the birth of their gods, and bear unquestionable traces of a simple faith, connected in the earlier ages with an innocent and happy life, so that in all cases the light has been rejected, not withdrawn. Men therefore have been, and are, degraded and wretched, not because God has failed to provide ample means of virtue and happiness for all, but because his gifts have been neglected, abused, or spurned by those who might have preserved them for their own use and transmitted them to their posterity.

We are thus thrown back upon moral evil, as presenting the only serious difficulties involved in the whole subject now under discussion. What, then, is moral evil? It is identical with wrong; and wrong is the opposite of right. But what are right and wrong? Are they arbitrary or essential qualities? Has the distinction between them its origin in the will of God? or does it grow from the necessary conditions of all existence, whether human or Divine? We cannot but regard right and wrong as ultimate, absolute ideas, and the right as not God's appointment, but his law, — the necessity of his nature. Could we conceive of a Creator omnipotent and omniscient, yet destitute of all moral attributes, his decrees and acts would not be necessarily right. They would, indeed, be irresistible; but they might be wrong. God's

decrees and acts are not right because they are his ; but they are his because they are right. Right and wrong are inherent, essential characteristics of actions, unchangeable though the heavens fall. God can do no wrong, not because his omnipotence creates right, but because his wisdom and benevolence render him the impersonation of the right and the good. At every moment, right or wrong may be affirmed of every being and object in the universe. Every moral agent has his own peculiar nature, with its laws, adaptations, relations, and destiny. To keep those laws, to fulfil those adaptations, to discharge those relations, to approach that destiny, must of necessity be right, and the opposite of these things must be wrong. Unintelligent beings and objects are under the control of intelligent agents, human or Divine. They, too, have their laws, relations, and uses ; and according as these are kept or violated, they are the objects of right or wrong volitions. Now it is obvious that every thought, word, or deed of a conscious being must be either in accordance with, or in opposition to, the essential laws and relations of his own being, or of some other being or object, and therefore must be either right or wrong. And there is connected with the very idea of wrong that of loss, inconvenience, or suffering. The being who plays false with his own nature must derive something less than the highest happiness for which he was created, or must encounter some experience opposite to the happy condition designed for him ; and the object employed in contravention of its true uses must fail of rendering the enjoyment which it might have rendered, and is liable to give rise to sensations of an opposite character. Nor is this result affected by the ignorance of the wrong-doer. He who does right remains in harmony with the moral universe, and, by acting in accordance with the immutable laws and essential relations of his own nature and that of other beings, advances towards the fulfilment of his destiny. He who does wrong mars the harmony of the moral universe, and, in the precise proportion in which he violates the laws and relations of his own nature or of other beings, he forfeits his true place, and makes the attainment of his rightful destiny remote or doubtful. Wrong-doing is suicidal in its very nature, and Omnipotence itself can no more render it harmless than it can make two and two five. It must in all cases be attended by its appropriate retribution. The difference between the ignorant wrong-doer and him who is conscious of the wrong

that he does, (and it is a wide difference,) is, that the latter violates more and higher laws of his being, and therefore incurs a proportionally heavier penalty.

Now free agency must include the power of doing wrong, and therefore of incurring evil. Our next question, then, is, whether the ends of infinite benevolence might not have been answered without the creation of any being endowed with this perilous gift of free agency. Benevolence in the Creator and happiness in the creature are correlative and reciprocal terms. We must suppose that the plan of a perfectly benevolent Creator would embrace the production of every degree and kind of happiness of which finite beings are capable. Now does not every man's consciousness tell him that free agency is essential to the higher forms of happiness, nay, the source of immeasurably loftier enjoyment than can flow from all other sources combined? With what shall we compare it? With intelligence? Among animals, intelligence seems not to increase enjoyment. The insect, whose eye is a multiplying glass, and conveys to him images always gorgeously beautiful, but never true, — the kitten and the lamb, ignorant alike of the world's resources and its wiles, — evidently take a larger share of enjoyment than older and wiser animals. Intelligence brings with it labor, care, and fear, and of itself bestows no counterbalancing joy. This is equally the case among men, where the intellectual nature is developed independently of the moral. What are called the pleasures of knowledge, or of intellect, derive their zest from the moral character. Emotions and affections, which have their source in a loyal and obedient will, perform for the materials of knowledge the office which the gastric juice does for food, — enable us to digest and assimilate them, make them conducive to our nutriment and growth, to our elasticity and gladness of spirit. Without this moral solvent, we may have all knowledge and understand all mysteries, and yet they will be but burdensome and oppressive crudities, ministering to our isolation, misanthropy, and unrest. The omniscient devil of the popular theology, did he exist, would be only the more wretched for his omniscience. Now God might have created our race intelligent, yet incapable of wrong. But what possible enjoyment could have been within the reach of such a race, that would bear comparison with the consciousness of right choice and right action, against the entire power and strong temptation to do

wrong ? Is there not more happiness in the soul of a single sufferer for righteousness' sake than we can imagine in a hundred well-doing automatons ? And if so, it was the part of Divine mercy to provide for this higher form of happiness, even though it was distinctly foreseen that multitudes would spurn the noble gift.

But might there not have been full scope for free agency, and for the free choice of virtue, in a world less full of temptation, — in a world where there should have been sufficient knowledge of evil to make the choice of good intelligent and voluntary, yet not enough of the presence and power of evil to render the choice of it in many cases, or in any case, probable ? Such a world we suppose heaven to be. We do not expect there to lose our power of choice, and yet we expect to choose there only the things that are excellent and divine. Why might not our world have been created on the same plan, and all men have grown into voluntary virtue without the fearful ordeal of sin, as we believe is the case with those who die in infancy ? It ill becomes us to answer this question dogmatically. But may it not be essential to the full, free exercise of the power of moral choice, — to the clear knowledge of good and evil, — that, somewhere in the universe, or at some period of its history, sin shall have shown its nature experimentally, exhibited its atrocity by its fearful consequences, and, by the contrast thus created, shed needed lustre on the divine beauty of holiness ? May not we in the future life, may not the translated infant, may not the unfallen first-born of heaven, may not those who shall live in this world in the better times foreshown in prophecy, attain a loftier elevation of moral freedom and power from the clear perception of moral distinctions to be drawn from the chequered experience of virtue and sin, through which our own and perhaps other races of intelligent beings are now passing ? May not a history such as our race has thus far written for itself be necessary as the sunken foundation of the spiritual edifice, which in the latter days will stand firm on the solid earth, and send up its pinnacles to the heaven of heavens ? May there not thus be a profound depth of spiritual significance in those words of the Psalmist, "He layeth the beams of his chambers upon the waters" ?

This view certainly derives much confirmation from our own observation, and from the current experience of humanity. If moral excellence be the supreme good, there is no

more merciful appointment of Providence than the outward deformity, the wide-spread and promiscuous wretchedness, that result from human guilt. Nothing is so surely adapted to awaken repentance, and to produce reformation, as the handwriting of sin in the tears and blood of the innocent. Men see their own fiendish passions reflected back from the red and turbid waves of war, tumult, and oppression, and hear their echoes in the groans and cries of misery and despair ; and they are thus led to abhor their past selves, and to cherish purer affections and holier sentiments. Did not inward guilt produce these appalling forms of outward desolation and woe, there would be much less hope than there is of the establishment of the reign of God upon the earth. With immeasurably greater power than could have been wielded by the combined voices and pens of Christendom, there went forth of late through our country, from the devastated plains and violated homes of Mexico, the irreversible sentence of reprobation against the sordid ambition, the dereliction of principle, the brutality of soul, that lighted the flames of war, and so long refused to quench them. As philanthropists, we have full as little desire as expectation, that the outward results of these passions should be diminished in atrocity, till the passions themselves subside.

Similar are the uses of those portions of the course of nature which are terrific and disastrous in their operation, — flood and earthquake, volcano and tempest. The world in which we live, rich and beautiful as it is in its provisions for the happiness of sentient beings, is better adapted for a race of sinners than of saints ; and though we are assured that “the saints shall inherit the earth,” we doubt not that they will have the old mansion thoroughly repaired before they take possession of it. These darker portions of the economy of nature are suited to impress that salutary fear which with the wicked is the beginning of wisdom, to awaken thoughtfulness in those who would otherwise be reckless, and to plant thick-set horrors in the way of transgressors. The representation of man prior to sin as in an earthly paradise, and of man in his redeemed estate as beyond the power of physical evil, accords with our sense of fitness. We find no difficulty in believing that God “cursed the ground for man’s sake,” that is, for man’s good ; and that it is in sympathy with human guilt, “that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, . . . . waiting for the adoption, to wit,

the redemption, of our body," of the great body of humanity, to put on its robes of praise. We can therefore receive as literal the predictions of a renovation of outward nature to correspond with the entire regeneration of our race through the Gospel.

We would now speak of the case the most difficult of all to be reconciled with God's infinite benevolence, namely, the vast amount of evil done and incurred in utter ignorance of the right. Why the enlightened moral agent should be left free, and then suffered to eat of the fruit of his own doings, it is comparatively easy for us to say. But that myriads should live and die with no means for the education of conscience, and yet should be amenable to all the bitter consequences of sin, is indeed the darkest portion of God's ways. It was this which confounded St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, — the inequality of privilege apart from all considerations of moral merit; and after a few hints illustrative of the essential obscurity of the subject, he closes by expressing his full conviction that the ultimate end of these appointments is, "that God might have mercy upon all," and then, turning away from the Book, of which he cannot unloose the seals, he exclaims, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?" There is no room here for the old scholastic notion of the Divine sovereignty, *alias* caprice or waywardness, which does what it pleases, and by might creates right even in acts opposed to our natural sense of right. These darker portions of the Divine administration are pervaded by the same immutable rectitude which we can trace in so many of its workings; and to follow out its laws, to evolve in the moral history of all worlds and ages this ground principle of right in God's government, will no doubt be one of the high prerogatives of our spiritual being.

But, with reference to this case of the unprivileged and benighted, we may, perhaps, offer a few suggestions not unworthy of regard. Let it be considered, in the first place, how much of the noblest virtue is called into exercise by the abounding degradation and depravity of our race. The highest forms of excellence are those which have been developed in active antagonism with ignorance and moral evil. Error and sin have woven the confessor's wreath and the martyr's

crown ; and the inequalities of privilege among mankind, by bringing into such noble exercise every form and sentiment of virtue and philanthropy, have undoubtedly made the aggregate of human goodness and happiness greater than they could have been, had Adam and all his posterity stood on the platform of equal endowments and opportunities.

Yet let it not be imagined that we look on the many as hopeless victims for the good of the few, — that in our apprehension God abandons thousands to destruction, that he may create a Howard, a Cheverus, or a Father Mathew. On the other hand, we believe that no soul will fail of the means of salvation. Those who have passed through life in darkness and depression will doubtless find in the spiritual state the opportunity of a right choice, which was not vouchsafed them here ; and their very sufferings, without hope or remedy on earth, may prepare them to receive the light of heaven, when it dawns upon them, with the more implicit confidence and the warmer gratitude, even as in our Saviour's day the publicans and the outcast sinners of Judea pressed into the ranks of his followers, while the Scribes and Pharisees stood aloof. And with regard to those who are down-trodden and benighted here, yet welcome the revelation of truth and love in heaven, " the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed " ; and may not these very sufferings, in a multitude of instances, create a submissiveness and docility of spirit, — a hatred, from bitter experience, of the forms of evil in contact with which they have lived, — a readiness to embrace the true and good when offered, — in fine, those traits of character through which they may be enabled, in our Saviour's language, " to receive the kingdom of heaven as a little child " ?

Again, may not the appalling inequality of privilege, which we behold in the allotments of Providence, tend to make the heavenly society more perfect, by reproducing itself in a rich diversity of combinations of virtues and styles of character. We cannot conceive of souls in heaven as all manifesting the same proportions of goodness, — made *ad unguem* after the same pattern. There will, no doubt, be there, as here, wide diversities of gifts, manifestations, and offices. There will be the bold, energetic, lofty, commanding spirits, — leaders in the sacramental host ; and their ranks, we may imagine, will be chiefly filled by those who on earth encountered arduous labors and sacrifices for the redemption of their brethren,

— by philanthropists, missionaries, martyrs, apostles. Then there will be those in whom the reflective and active powers are more evenly blended ; and such souls will be ripened for heaven from among the many who, in an ordinary sphere of discipline, amidst balanced good and evil, embrace the good, eschew the evil, and lead sober, peaceful, godly lives. Then there will be in heaven those in whom the milder, gentler forms of spiritual excellence predominate, and to whom will be confided the most tender, loving ministries of Divine mercy ; and may not their numbers be continually reinforced by those called from earth in infancy, — whose innocence ripens into virtue without a conflict, — who wear the crown without having borne the cross ? In connection with these that have been enumerated, we can conceive of yet another type of character, which may be essential to the completeness of the orders of the heavenly society ; — a type which shall be furnished by the unprivileged, the despised, the rejected of this world. May they not be distinguished in heaven by the prompt and earnest receptivity of truth, — by the predominance of the confiding, trustful elements of character, — by the closeness with which, step by step, they “ follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth ” ?

These are but imperfect hints towards the solution of the origin and reign of evil. We have reserved for our closing paragraph the consideration from which we find the greatest relief under perplexities of this class. It is the simple fact, that God has made an express and miraculous revelation to our race. Had the course of nature never been interrupted, we should apprehend that evil would reign for ever, for ever cast its deep shadow upon the earth, and cry to heaven in vain for relief and remedy. But, believing that the powers of nature have been shaken and its order arrested by a messenger of virtue, peace, and love from the spiritual world, we receive in faith his message, and see in him a power adequate to subdue all things to himself. We learn from him that evil will not reign always. We see evidence, than which we can conceive of none clearer, that he is ordained to bruise the serpent's head. At his word, we see Satan fall like lightning from the heavens, and vanish from the earth. We hear from him the assurance that the tabernacle of God will yet be with men ; that he will wipe all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no sin, suffering, or sorrow. Above all, we learn from him, that we, who bear his name, are sacredly



bound to associate ourselves with him in the conflict with prevailing evil, and thus in frittering away the problem which we may not fully solve. Nor is there any way in which we can so surely relieve our doubts, think hopefully of our race, and feel that evil will lose its reign and have its end, as by doing our part, with heart and soul, with mind and strength, towards finishing the transgression, and bringing in everlasting righteousness.

A. P. P.

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#### ART. V. — REPLIES TO DR. BUSHNELL.\*

THE attention which we have already bestowed upon Dr. Bushnell's recent work, "God in Christ," has naturally interested us in the numerous criticisms upon it by Trinitarian writers. Upon some of these we now propose to remark.

Dr. Pond's Review we should characterize, in general terms, as narrow, superficial, and, in some instances, offensively personal. It is an appeal, not to reason or to Scripture, but to the prejudices of the Orthodox denomination. It has some good points, but shows no enlargement of thought. There is a sort of logical dexterity, but, in a few instances at least, it would not be difficult to turn it against the author himself. Dr. Pond delights in making Dr. Bushnell contradict himself. The following is an example, on pp. 94, 95, of a "self-contradiction."

"So when our author [Dr. B.] had set forth, at length, the bad influence of dogma, or theology, ascribing to it no small part of the evils which have afflicted the Church, he goes on to say, that it is no part of his plan 'wholly to discard opinion, science, systematic theology, or even dogma.' These things 'have an immense pedagogic value.' They exert a 'very important

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\* 1. *Review of Dr. Bushnell's "God in Christ."* By ENOCH POND, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine. Bangor: E. F. Duren. 1849. 12mo. pp. 118.

2. *The Christian Observatory and Religious and Literary Magazine.* Editors: N. ADAMS, D. D., J. A. ALBRO, D. D., E. BEECHER, D. D., E. N. KIRK, A. W. M'CLURE, W. A. STEARNS, A. C. THOMPSON. Boston: J. V. Beane & Co. June, 1849. pp. 60.

3. *What does Dr. Bushnell mean?* From the New York Evangelist. Hartford: Case, Tiffany, & Co. 1849. pp. 28.

4. *Review of Dr. Bushnell's Theories of the Incarnation and the Atonement.* By ROBERT TURNBULL, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Hartford, Conn. Hartford: Brockett, Fuller, & Co. 1849. pp. 77.

influence' in 'the catechetic discipline of children,' etc. — pp. 309–311."

To say nothing of the mutilations to which the closing extracts here have been subjected, we would only remark that Dr. Bushnell does not "go on to say that it is *no part* of his plan," etc. His words are, "It is not my design, as you perceive, *wholly* to discard opinion," etc. Is there any contradiction between this and what Dr. Pond has ascribed to him? May not Dr. Bushnell "set forth, at length, the bad influence of dogma," etc., without its being "his design *wholly* to discard it"?

We give one other instance of Professor Pond's logical acumen, from p. 96 :—

"On one page, Dr. B. speaks thus of the person of the Saviour : 'The Divine is so far uppermost in him, as to *suspend the proper manhood of his person*. He does not any longer *act the man* ; particularly speaking, the man *sleeps* in him. It is as if the man *were not there*.' But on the very next page, we have what seems to us a palpable contradiction. 'As to the unreal, super-human human, that is, the human *acted wholly by the Divine* so as to have no action of its own, save in pretence,—what is it to us, but a mockery? What can we learn from it?'—pp. 126, 127."

Will the reader believe, what is nevertheless true, that this "palpable contradiction" "on the very next page," is a statement, not of what Dr. Bushnell himself believes, but of a view wholly different from his own, which he brings forward only to condemn? In the one case he speaks of the human as quiescent, while the divine alone acts in Christ ; in the other, of the human acting by the influence of the divine upon it. They are wholly independent views, and cannot, in the sense that Dr. Pond asserts, contradict each other.

So much for the logic of the "Review." We have now a graver charge to bring against it. On page 104 is the following note :—

"It is well known that Dr. B. is a prominent candidate for the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge College. From the above remarks, addressed to a company of divinity students, it may be gathered how he will proceed with *his* students, should he be so fortunate as to get the appointment. Of course, he will not teach them 'that dead body of abstractions, or logical prop-

ositions, called *theology*,' but will exercise them after the manner of the old schools of the prophets. He will 'shut up the libraries'; 'shave their crowns'; 'put on hair girdles'; lead them 'into retirement'; 'practise them in songs, processions, and impassioned acts of devotion'; 'exercising them in symbols, and the senses of mystic forms'; and, standing up before them, a 'prophet father,' will kindle them by his own lofty 'improvisings.'"

Personalities like this, in a grave theological treatise, can, with intelligent men, accustomed to the courtesies due from one to another in the intercourse of Christian teachers, have no bad influence except on those who use them. We shall apply no epithets, except to say that it is a bad specimen of a sort of theological warfare which we hoped had become extinct, except in one or two religious periodicals which serve as vents to let off the foul air from the denomination with which they are connected. Dr. Pond has furnished a specimen; the June number of the *Christian Observatory* is the thing itself. We do not like to speak of the article in this as we think. We do not understand how the pure Christian men,—for such we know some of them to be,—whose names stand on the title-page of the work, could unite in the publication of such an article, unless the sense of individual responsibility is lost in numbers. It shows a great deal more ability than Dr. Pond's book,—but it is too much the ability to excite the disgust of those who reject, and the bad passions of those who accept it. It is equally remarkable for its sanctimoniousness and its levity.

"Were we to indulge," it says, "in a satirical vein, in speaking of the work, we might compare it to a book of pictures, by a rope-dancer, containing the following preface: Ground and Lofty Tumbling; to which is prefixed an admonition to the reader, that he cannot be sure, at any moment, whether the author is down or up; followed by a protest against being laughed at, with sour faces made up at those who shall dare to laugh; the whole concluded with an argument on the folly of ever attempting to make men keep step." — p. 246.

The very next sentence, after this, is a complaint against Dr. Bushnell for something "which will strike every observing and *pious* mind."

"We refer to the way in which he deals with things associated in the mind of a Christian with profoundest awe and deepest

religious experience. He reminds us of the French police officer, Pétion, who brought back the fugitive Louis and the royal ladies, in a carriage, to Paris. He ate an orange in the carriage, in the presence of the ladies, with a certain brusque familiarity, and tossed the peel out of the window, very near the king's face."

This, we take it for granted, is put in by way of copy, to show how the most sacred subjects ought to be treated by pious minds. Perhaps Dr. Bushnell will remember it when he writes again, and furnish us with a genuine specimen of wit chastened and sanctified.

We thank the Reviewers for one sentence:—"The point at issue between them [the Unitarians] and us is, whether the things which are revealed in the Bible, and which may be ascertained by a fair interpretation of its language, are to be believed on the authority of God, or are to be believed or rejected according to their agreement or disagreement with our independent reasoning."—p. 289. Now this is an honest statement, and we are glad to find Orthodox divines bold enough to bring it out openly. The Unitarians receive the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice; and "the things which are revealed in it, and which may be ascertained by a fair interpretation of its language," we hold, "are to be believed on the authority of God," as a revelation from him. But our Orthodox brethren have a creed of human device, and allowing the Bible to teach them only such things as may harmonize with their human creed; so that what we receive on the authority of a Divine revelation they must in fact "believe or reject according to its agreement or disagreement" with the results of human reasoning. This is the true issue between them and us, and on this issue we are at all times ready to meet them. This, as they rightly assert, and not the doctrine of the Trinity or the Atonement, is what really separates us from them; and if this is the meaning of the passage quoted above, we thank the writers for their frankness.

Notwithstanding what we have said, there are passages in the article before us which show uncommon ability in the treatment of theological subjects, and which, if confined to the discussion, on theological grounds, of the great subjects in hand, might do much to establish them on their true basis. We should rejoice to see such a discussion.

We have no room to speak of the remaining reviews, *ex-*  
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cept to say, that, while in their spirit they contrast favorably with the two which we have noticed, the third, understood to be by Professor Goodrich, is clear and pointed in style without any attempt at being comprehensive or profound, and the fourth, more ambitious in its design, displays a good deal of theological dexterity and ability, but is not a thorough review.

We hope in time to find, what the Orthodox body owe to the community, a calm, fair, comprehensive, and thorough review of Dr. Bushnell's remarkable book, — a book of many faults, but of very uncommon excellences. It is not a refutation of his doctrines to call him by hard names, or to prove some of his views to be pantheistic or Unitarian. Is not the great idea of pantheism, the universal and perpetual presence of God in all nature, so that of him and through him and to him are all things, the foundation on which every just notion of God must rest? It is only when we stop here, and deny that God, while he fills out all nature as a Divine law and presence, is also a personal being, who wills and knows and loves, that we conflict with the Christian idea of God. Professor Goodrich may prove that certain expressions used by Dr. Bushnell are pantheistic. But what then? Does not Dr. Bushnell go beyond these expressions, and from this pantheistic substratum, if we may so call it, of the Divine nature, reveal to us a personal God? Is it not the great aim of his Discourse on the Trinity, to show to us a Divine Being, who may address himself to our human intelligence and affections, as one who knows our weaknesses, who has compassion upon us, and would save us? Must not the intelligent reader consider these two views in their relation to each other? Is it just to take one by itself and represent that as the author's idea of God? In a subject of vast extent and complexity, it is often necessary to separate the parts, and present singly to the mind qualities which exist only in a sublime union and harmony one with another. In speaking of God, we may go behind all his acts of creation, and regard him as pure, absolute being, infinite and eternal, sufficient to himself, alone, and at rest in his own boundless perfections. Then we may regard him as a Creator, unfolding, from the depths of his own nature, worlds and systems of worlds, and countless multitudes of intelligent beings. Again, we may regard him as an infinite law, reaching through these worlds, binding them in perpetual harmony, and sus-

taining through them endless diversities of life, — leaf, star, insect, man, and angel. And yet again, we may think of him as manifesting himself in Jesus for the redemption of a fallen race. We *think* of these different operations of the Divine nature at different moments, and therefore seem to separate them from each other ; but in fact they may all be going on at one and the same moment, and all be requisite to fill up, even imperfectly, our highest human idea of the Divine nature. But it is not fair to take one of these sentences, to follow it out into its extreme logical bearings, without the qualifications which come from all the rest, and then represent it as our view of God. Yet this is what Dr. Bushnell's reviewers have done to convict him of pantheism.

So also in the charge of Unitarianism which is brought against him. In the first place, it has been thought, that, if that odious word could be fixed upon him, he must necessarily stand condemned by the Christian world. But who is not a Unitarian ? Who, calling himself a Christian, and receiving the Scriptures as his rule of faith, can for a moment, in the face of their most solemn declarations, dare to call in question the unity of God ? Suppose, then, that they do prove one of their writers to be a Unitarian ? Is he therefore, even on their own principles, a heretic ? Do not they also claim to be Unitarians ? Do they not reject with indignation and scorn every attempt that is made to convict them of worshipping three Gods ? If he, in certain parts of his writings, dwells more on the unity than the trinity of the Divine nature, is not the same true of St. Augustine, and Calvin, and Jonathan Edwards, and Dr. Emmons ?

But then Dr. Bushnell has endeavoured to reconcile the doctrine of the Unity with the doctrine of the Trinity, and in so doing has destroyed the old-fashioned Calvinistic doctrine of the Trinity. What follows ? That his doctrine is necessarily false ? So these reviewers, addressing themselves to the prejudices of a portion of the community, assert. But are they not bound to prove it ? Are they not bound to show where his arguments fail ? Assuming, as they all do, the unity of God as a basis, are they not bound to present some Trinitarian hypothesis which is not inconsistent with that fundamental doctrine in which all Christian sects agree ? Or, if they cannot do that, they certainly are bound to show that *their* view of the Trinity is clearly re-

vealed in the Scriptures, but that it involves a mystery beyond our human comprehension, and therefore is not to be explained. Yet if it is a mystery not to be explained, how do they know what it is? How do they know that Dr. Bushnell, or that we even, do not hold to it? If it is not a mystery, but may be explained, then they are bound to explain it, and show how it may be reconciled with the strict unity of the Divine nature. This is what Dr. Bushnell has attempted to do, and in the attempt has destroyed the tri-personality of God. They cry out against him for this; but let them, if they can, show us a better way, and either remove the apparent contradiction, or acknowledge that this whole doctrine of the Trinity is a mystery which they cannot understand. If they cannot understand it, we repeat the question, How do they know what they believe, or that they in fact believe more than we do? We cannot fathom the depths of the Divine nature. We cannot explain the exact method, or circumscribe the extent, of the manifestation of God in Jesus Christ. We do not profess to know all that is meant by the promise which our Saviour has given of the Paraclete, the Comforter, or all that is implied in the promise, "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." This manifestation of God in his Son, these promises of the Comforter, and of Christ himself and the Father, that they will come to us and make their abode with us, if we love Jesus and keep his words, are promises which we hold inexpressibly dear. But the length, and breadth, and depth, and height of their meaning we cannot comprehend. Why, then, on their own ground, may it not be, that, under these and other Scriptural expressions, we believe in all that is important to our spiritual well-being, as much as they who hold the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement as mysteries essential to man's salvation, but beyond their powers of comprehension? We once asked as zealous a Trinitarian as we have ever known, — a man of fine genius and fervent piety, — whether this might not be; and after pausing a little while, he replied, that he could not see why it might not. If, then, Trinitarians hold these doctrines as a mystery which they do not understand, they must cease to condemn us as heretics, who, under other and purely Scriptural terms, may believe as much as they; and if they hold them as intelligible, philosophical articles of belief,

they are bound to explain them as such, and to present them in such a way that they will not palpably contradict the doctrine of the Divine unity, and the plainest declarations of Scripture.

We would state one thing more, suggested by reading these reviews. We have a strong affection for the Congregational form of worship and church discipline. We believe it to be the form instituted by our Saviour, and observed by his apostles. It commends itself to our reason, and is endeared to us by our most hallowed associations. It is always, therefore, with pain that we see in any branch of the Congregational church symptoms of weakness or decay. These Orthodox clergymen repudiate us, but we cling to them still as Christian brethren. We do not need their patronage, and we lament their exclusiveness, — not because it shuts us out from the hope of salvation, but because it shuts us out from their sympathy and fraternal coöperation. We and they have the same work to do in the heritage left to us by common ancestors, and we would strengthen and cheer each other by our united counsels and prayers. We should all of us be the better for such a union. And we have felt this most forcibly in reading particularly the review in the *Observatory*. No clergyman in our denomination, occupying a position such as is held by most of the editors of that Review, could without public disgrace publish such an article. It would not be tolerated by our intelligent laymen ; and the clergyman, or the association of clergymen, who should publish it, would only bring upon themselves the odium they were laboring to bring upon another. Intelligent and liberal Orthodox laymen, we know, take the same view of the subject ; and a series of petty acts like this, of supercilious levity, intolerance, and bigotry, is seriously undermining the influence of the clergy among them, and driving them away to a church with which we have less sympathy than with any form of Congregationalism. Our New England clergy from the beginning have had great influence with the people, because of their reputation for learning and piety. But if, as in some of these reviews, they undertake to substitute abuse for argument, dogmatism for learning, the decisions of human councils for the words of Jesus and the apostles, and appeal, not to the reason, but to the prejudices of their readers, and, in language not to be mistaken, call for the excision from their body of one of the ablest and most devout of



their number, because, on subjects passing the limits of our human thought, he interprets Scriptural language differently from themselves, — if they go on in this direction, they must lose the confidence and respect of their people, and drive into the opposite extremes of Rationalism and Episcopacy, or Romanism, more souls than all their Evangelical Alliances, and Colporteurs, and Bible Societies can rescue. It is one of the mournful consequences of the forced division in our churches, that those whom we most need to preserve the balance in our separate congregations are driven off. A few of those who cling to the letter of the word would be useful in our more liberal congregations, that we might in our discourses and studies be kept closer to the Scriptures, and cherish a greater reverence for the precise words and terms of the sacred records; and our Orthodox brethren would be greatly assisted in the enlargement of their thoughts and the healthful freedom of their devotions, if they had among their hearers a greater proportion of educated, liberal, comprehensive minds. Their academies, their colleges, their theological schools, their churches, their homes, would then be the nurseries of a more generous and catholic piety; and such productions as two of those here reviewed would be condemned by none more severely than by some of the excellent men who, by their names at least, now make themselves responsible for them.

Why can there not be a manly, scholar-like, Christian discussion of the great subjects on which the different members of the Orthodox body are now at issue? Why the pitiable attempts, that we have so often seen, to out-vote, silence, and suppress objectionable matter, or objectionable members? The treatment of Dr. Bushnell's *Treatise on Christian Nurture*, the underhanded manœuvring in regard to Mr. Lesley, the conduct of the Essex Association towards the late Mr. Niles, are instances of a kind of management which must bring disgrace and odium on any body of men by whom it is approved. We do not find fault with them for disliking the *Treatise on Christian Nurture*, or for refusing to ordain Mr. Lesley. If they had come out openly and kindly, giving their reasons like Christian men, it would all have been well, and they would have been honored even by those differing from them. We see symptoms of a better order of things, and believe that there are now rising up in the Orthodox denomination men who, firm in the faith of their fathers, are ashamed

of these old practices, and are preparing to rest their doctrines less than ever on prescription, and more than ever on the broad principles of reason and revelation. They are the men who are to infuse a new spirit into the body with which they are connected, and to restore the faded glory of our New England churches, that, in the great contest of the age which is coming upon us between the religion of the Bible and the religion of an authoritative hierarchy, we may stand where our fathers stood, "fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." Then may we hope for something like the good old times when Dr. Stiles, and Dr. Hopkins, and Dr. West, of Dartmouth, could meet at the house of a common friend, controvert each other's views with their strongest arguments, unite in prayer, and agree upon their exchange of pulpits.

J. H. M.

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#### ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.\*

THE disposition to consider all questions under a philosophical point of view is becoming more and more general. We might gather this from the title-pages of books, as indicating what the public is supposed to favor. Thus, instead of having a "dissertation," or "treatise," as the term formerly was, on this subject or that, we now have what is called its "philosophy";—"The Philosophy of Language," "The Philosophy of Trade," "The Philosophy of Health,"—even "The Philosophy of Courtship and Marriage." We see it also in the subject-matter of the books which are most in demand and most eagerly read, and in the sort of questions debated with the most interest and warmth,—especially by young men. Thirty years ago,—to go back no farther,—no publications for the use of theological students found a readier sale than critical works and commentaries on the Scriptures: now, these, as the booksellers tell us, are dead stock. Thirty years ago, the appearance of a new work in controversial divinity, or on the interpretation of the Old or New Testament, or on the external evidences of Christianity,

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\* *The Philosophy of Religion.* BY J. D. MORELL, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 359.

if of acknowledged ability, would have made some noise in the literary circles : now, it makes none whatever, — unless, indeed, the avowed purpose is to bring the whole question under the criticism of what is called “a higher philosophy.”

This tendency of the public mind is everywhere giving rise to new parties and new schools in literature, politics, and religion. Without meaning to call in question the genius of Wordsworth or Coleridge, Byron or Shelley, there can be no doubt, we suppose, that these writers are indebted for not a little of their fame to a change in the public taste in favor of poetry of a more reflective or metaphysical cast. And so in the political world. In the convulsions which now agitate Europe, nothing is more noticeable than the absence of great leaders, — meaning, thereby, leaders capable of great action. This, however, is accounted for, in part at least, by the peculiar nature of the struggle, — not a war of races or dynasties, but of systems ; not, as in most previous revolutionary periods, a struggle for independence, or for political rights, or for bread, but a struggle between old and new ideas ; in which, of course, journalists and professors, men of science, and even poets, are the master spirits. In Hungary, — where alone the contest is of a different character, where they are agreed, and know what they are fighting for, — great leaders, in the usual acceptation of that title, are abundant. But the illustrations most in point are drawn from the new schools in theology. It is not that men would cast off old names, old dogmas, or old connections. Thus, the follower of Schleiermacher or Coleridge, among the Orthodox, claims to be as orthodox as ever, and to be as sincerely attached to the ancient symbols of the Church. His distinction consists in thinking to have rediscovered under these symbols a profound philosophy, which brings them into harmony with the true doctrine of the soul, and the advanced state of science in other respects. Primarily, therefore, it is neither the dogmas nor the forms, but the philosophy, of the Church, which he would have reformed. It is not, like most of the movements which have preceded it, a dogmatic or a critical movement, but, strictly speaking, a philosophical movement. Fanatics, even, and ultraists of every description, are now obliged, in order to obtain a favorable hearing, to put on the philosopher's cloak. It is nothing new for men to adopt non-resistance principles, disown civil government, or renounce animal food. All these things, and stranger

things than these, were done by some among the early reformers ; but with this remarkable difference : they professed to act under authority of Scripture ; whereas modern ultraists seldom appeal to the letter of Scripture, or to authority of any kind, being determined rather by abstract principles, or by certain newly discovered or newly assumed laws of the soul, or of the constitution of society.

To this general movement we are doubtless indebted for the work before us. We are glad, on several accounts, that it comes from an Orthodox divine, and not from a Unitarian, or a free-thinker. Not only will it be read more extensively, and by those who most need the information it contains, but also with less disposition to suspect it of meaning more or less than is said. Of the author himself we are likewise happy in being able to say, that his three publications, " *The History of Philosophy*," " *The Philosophical Tendencies of the Age*," and " *The Philosophy of Religion*," improve on each other ; the last manifesting more freedom and precision of thought than either of the preceding, a better understanding of the connection and relative importance of the problems, and, in general, a greater mastery over the entire subject. Even in the last, however, he is still liable to the charge of diffuseness and inexactness in language, and occasional oversights or blunders, which betray a haste of composition hardly to be excused in a treatise of this description. But the evil is not without its good. By avoiding, as much as possible, formal definitions, technical modes of expression, and a strictly scientific method, and adopting an easy, flowing, and popular style, he will probably hold the attention of many readers who could not otherwise have been induced to go through a metaphysical work. Indeed, when we consider that his object is to introduce among his countrymen a controversy which is not likely to end soon, and that the great obstacle to be overcome in the first instance is one growing out of the unaccustomedness of the English mind and the English language to discussions of this nature, we are not sure but that the book is a better one for its purpose than it would be, if it were better in itself.

Thus much is clear. The discussion itself, slow and reluctant as English and American theologians have been to take it up, is now fairly before the public, principally through the writings of the Orthodox, and must be entered on in good earnest by all parties. The stress of the controversy for the

next half-century will not be on the logical forms which the Christian doctrine shall assume, nor on the history or interpretation of the Scriptures, nor yet on the external evidences of a revelation, but on great previous questions which lie at the foundation of all religion. From the nature of the subject, not a little vague and presumptuous thought is to be expected, — crude theories, which strike at the root, not only of faith, but of morals and political order, the unsettling of some honest and well-disposed minds even in respect to first principles, and the consequent increase, for a time, of skepticism, or of mysticism as the only effectual shelter against skepticism. Nevertheless, the controversy will go on. Much of the declamation about trying hazardous experiments and agitating questions prematurely is to no purpose. Not only the progress of human inquiry, but the great changes it undergoes from age to age, and the new forms it puts on, obey, for the most part, laws which execute themselves. When men begin to think, they begin to question ; and their thinking and questioning go on together, until they reach, at last, the fundamental principles of all knowledge and belief. Agitators cannot do so much to precipitate this issue, alarmists cannot do so much to retard it, as is commonly supposed ; though it would be well, if we were rid of both. The danger would be next to nothing, if things were allowed to take their natural course. For obvious reasons, it may almost be laid down as an axiom, that a people are prepared for the discussion of any question which fairly comes up in their own thinking. If the question is not put into their mouths by others, if they have thought their way up to the problem, this fact alone is evidence that they are in a condition to understand its solution, and have a right to demand it ; and, consequently, that it ought not to be withheld.

That the turn which religious controversy is now taking will lead us to consider religion itself under new aspects is, on the whole, a recommendation. Some temporary inconveniences will doubtless grow out of this circumstance, — those especially which pertain to imperfectly formed conceptions, and the want of adequate terms to express our conceptions. The reason is obvious. New distinctions are to be made ; new relations are to be pointed out ; new facts are to be brought into notice and insisted on ; above all, new complex notions, new generalizations, are to be introduced, and the minds of the disputants are to become accustomed to

them, and to the names used to denote them. All this cannot be done in a day. In respect to terminology alone, one of two courses must be taken, either of which will be found to be attended with peculiar difficulties. If you conclude to retain the old terms, using them, however, in a new acceptation, you will not be able, for some time, so entirely to exclude old associations as to convey precisely what you mean. If, on the other hand, you determine to invent or adopt new terms, it will give to your diction a hard and strange look ; some will think it to be unintelligible, because it is so to them ; many will stigmatize it as mystical, merely because it is technical ; and even the best informed and best disposed, so long as the conceptions and the language are unfamiliar, will read it with difficulty, and receive, perhaps, but a vague and confused impression. These are serious evils ; but they are in their nature transient, and more than compensated for by the freshness and interest of a new discussion, and especially by the fact, that honest inquirers will enter upon it with minds to a degree untrammelled and uncommitted. Controversies do good ; but most of this good is done before parties are formed in respect to them, or, at any rate, before party lines are distinctly and definitively drawn, and each party has become so accustomed to its peculiar views as to regard them, on this account, as the only natural and consistent views. Afterwards, at least if the controversy continues to be an active one, the party drill on both sides will be able to keep things nearly stationary as regards the main issues. Meanwhile, however, some collateral or previous question is almost sure to be started, which will lead to new investigations ; — new issues are raised, new unions are formed, and a real progress is made.

Thus, by a succession of controversies, and not by the continuance of a single controversy, the truth prevails. Old controversies, like worn-out mines, can seldom be worked to advantage ; the little gold which they yield is hardly worth the labor it costs. After a controversy has run its course, and every body interested in the question has become committed to one side or the other, and is ready with an argument for everything, and an answer to everything, conversations must be expected to be rare. Ancient grudges, excited passions, party associations, the point of honor, if nothing else, will make them so. Neither is it to any purpose to object, that there are those to whom the old controversy

would be new. Their knowledge of it would be new ; still they would know it as an old controversy, with its accumulated hoard of prejudices, mutual recriminations, one-sided statements, and subtle distinctions and evasions ; so that it would be hardly possible for them to entertain the question, as it was entertained in the beginning by honest minds. Accordingly, it is seldom that errors die out until long after the controversy expressly directed against them, and which did good service in first exposing their falsity and loosening their hold on the public mind, has been allowed to subside. Take Calvinism for an example. It is since the Calvinistic controversy, properly so called, has slept, that some of the most offensive and objectionable parts of that system have been silently and almost universally abandoned. And this is the general rule. Theological errors seldom fall totally and irrecoverably, except with the fall of some more fundamental error on which they depended.

For these reasons we welcome the prospect of a new controversy, and the more so, as the subject of it is likely to be *the philosophy of religion*. But as this phrase is used by good writers in widely different acceptations, and often vaguely and indiscriminately, it will be necessary to state here, with some explicitness, what we understand it to signify and to include.

Philosophy is a word for which we are indebted, as every one knows, to the modesty of Pythagoras. Thinking the title of *wise man*, which had been borne by the sages who preceded him, too assuming, he was content to be called a *lover of wisdom*, or one who desired to know. Amidst the various characters of men, there is a select number who, despising all other pursuits, assiduously apply themselves to the study of nature, and the search after wisdom : " These," said Pythagoras, " are the persons whom I call philosophers." Cicero, following Plato, and expressing himself more precisely, makes philosophy to be " a knowledge of things divine and human, with their causes." Thus understood, it is neither more nor less than *science* ; that is, precise, thorough, and systematic knowledge. This is a common, perhaps the most common, signification of the term, as used by the best English writers, especially if to designate a general subject, or in the title-pages of books. By philosophy in general is meant science in general ; by natural philosophy is meant natural science ; and by moral philosophy, moral science.

Dr. Brown's "Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind" might just as well have been entitled "Lectures on the Science of the Human Mind," these terms being used interchangeably throughout the work. And so in religion. By the *philosophy of religion* is often meant the science of religion, or theology, properly so called, meaning thereby the whole of theology, natural and revealed. Those writers, for example, who oppose the introduction of theology into the pulpit, commonly allege as a reason, that theology is not religion, but only the philosophy of religion; and this is doubtless true in one sense of that phrase, but not in the sense in which we use it.

Another and more restricted acceptance of the term *philosophy* was introduced by the Christian Fathers, and afterwards adopted and sanctioned by the scholastic divines. In most cases, when they speak of philosophy absolutely, and especially when they allude to it as a rival to Christianity, they do not mean science in general, but human and worldly science (*scientia mundana*), in contradistinction to the Christian and divine (*scientia divina*). In other words, it stands for science as developed by the unassisted faculties of man, and, when used in connection with religion, for the science of religion, considered independently of the light and authority of revelation. This distinction still lingers, we believe, in most minds, as the predominant one, whenever philosophy and religion are compared together, or the hope is expressed that sooner or later they will be reconciled. Thus Guizot: — "To a greater depth than some of our contemporaries are willing to allow, Philosophy is ready to become seriously and sincerely religious. Like Catholicism, like Protestantism, she will not change her nature; she will remain Philosophy, that is to say, free thought, and only drawing from her own resources, in whatever field she may labor. But in the field of religious questions, she perceives that she has often been very short-sighted and very trifling; that neither impiety nor indifference are true science; that the proudest rationalism may abase itself before God, and that there is philosophy in faith." Philosophy is here supposed to draw from her own resources an entire system of religion, — religion within the limits of reason, the religion of nature, or, as it is usually called, deism. Such a system of religion is nothing but a system of philosophy. Hence the philosophy of such a religion may be said to comprehend all the



reasonings or intuitions on which the religion itself rests. Here, then, we have another and not uncommon sense of the phrase under consideration, but, again we say, not that in which it is used by us.

For distinctness' sake, we have thought it best to begin by stating what we do not mean by *the philosophy of religion*. We do not mean the science of religion, natural and revealed, — religion logically defined, harmonized, and reduced to a system, or *theology*, as that term is commonly understood. Neither do we mean natural religion alone, or so much of the science of religion as philosophy teaches; nor yet the sum of the reasonings or intuitions on which these teachings depend. The philosophy of religion, as we understand it in this connection, relates exclusively to the ultimate grounds of religion, — to what must be proved, postulated, or unconsciously assumed, before we are in a condition rationally and consistently to enter on the discussion of religious questions, properly so called. Its function is to deal with the great previous questions, which a man must answer one way or another before he is prepared, we do not say to solve religious problems, properly so called, but even so much as logically to entertain them. The philosophy of religion is the science of the essential nature and primordial conditions of religion, and so is not to be regarded as a part of the proof or the exposition of religion, properly so called, but as something which must be known or assumed before the proof or exposition is begun. It has to do, not with the superstructure, but with the foundations; not with the formal statement of the argument or doctrine of religion, — not with what religion teaches, or, properly speaking, includes, — but with what it *presupposes*.

The topics which come under this head divide themselves naturally into two classes: those which are common to the science of religion and to other sciences, and those which pertain exclusively to the science of religion.

Bacon seems to have had the former in view where he says, in his "Advancement of Learning," — "Because the distributions and partitions of knowledge are not like several lines that meet in one angle, and so touch but in one point; but are like branches of a tree that meet in a stem, which hath a dimension and quantity of entireness and continuance, before it come to discontinue and break itself into arms and boughs: therefore it is good, before we enter into the former distribution, to erect and constitute one universal science, by the

name of *Philosophia Prima*, primitive or summary philosophy, as the main and common way, before we come where the ways part and divide themselves. Which science," he adds, "whether I should report as deficient or not, I stand doubtful." On this point many "stand doubtful" still; yet it is obvious, that if we would begin at the beginning, we must begin here. Whatever the human mind knows or conceives, it knows or conceives by virtue of its own laws and powers. Hence it is driven, by a necessity growing out of its own nature, to seek the ultimate foundation of all that it knows or conceives in a knowledge of itself as a distinct object of study. No matter how high, no matter how low, the thing to be known, our knowledge of it, both as regards its extent and legitimacy, depends, in the last analysis, on the validity and reach of our knowing faculties. In a logical view of the constitution of the sciences, it is not enough, therefore, merely to apply these faculties; we must begin by understanding the faculties themselves, so far at least as to know the laws and conditions of their development. Now it is precisely here, in the science of mind, that is to say, in the science which, as we have seen, is at the foundation of all sciences, that some of the most perplexing problems occur, — problems, too, which have been solved differently by the great masters of thought; and according as we accept one or another of these solutions, our subsequent conclusions in every field of thought will be materially affected and determined. Consequently, the problems themselves, as great preliminary questions, come fairly within the scope of what is here understood by *the philosophy of religion*.

One of these problems respects what has been termed *the fundamental law of human development*. M. Comte, the learned and ingenious founder and expositor of the so-called *Positive Philosophy*, has undertaken to demonstrate, that, according to this law, every science manifests itself under three successive phases, — the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. In other words, men begin by making God the sole and immediate cause of all things; they next think to refer all changes to certain general and abstract potencies, or metaphysical entities, as their cause; at last, they dismiss all thought of cause, not only of first cause, but of second causes, as nugatory and vain, — nay more, discard the very term utterly and for ever, contenting themselves henceforth with the study of the laws and conditions of the cor-

relation of things and the sequence of events. Whoever adopts this solution of the problem must hold, as a necessary consequence, that religion, as well as metaphysics, is destined to die a natural death ; — not by being denied and confuted, but by being ignored ; not by the answer given to religious questions, but by the fact that the time is coming when no religious questions will be asked. This philosophy has been introduced into England by Lewes in his “ Biographical History of Philosophy,” who avows himself a convert to the system ; and still more effectually, because more covertly, by Mill, whose “ System of Logic ” has just been welcomed and accepted by M. Littré, the ablest of the French disciples of Comte, as the logic of the Positive school. And as the general tone and complexion of the Positive Philosophy, apart from its religious aspects, fall in with the strong empirical bias of the English mind, its impatience of abstractions and German metaphysics and mysticism of every kind, we cannot help thinking that religion, in England and amongst us, is a hundredfold more in danger from this quarter, than from transcendentalism or pantheism. At any rate, the question on the merits of this system, with its corollary in respect to the ultimate fate of all religions, is now an open question ; we cannot avert the discussion, if we would ; — a discussion which must be expected to hold a prominent place in the controversies of the next fifty years.

Another unsettled problem, pertaining, though not exclusively, to the philosophy of religion, comprehends the whole doctrine of rational intuitions, the *à priori* element of intelligence, or, as Mr. Morell calls it, “ the intuitional consciousness.” Locke retained the term *intuition*, but not the reality, as it is understood at the present day, — certainly not an adequate foundation for it ; and some of his English followers, perceiving this, have discarded the term. The question is, whether the mind, by virtue of innate laws, and on occasion of experience, can attain by its own activity to universal and necessary truths. Be it observed, that these truths are not the “ innate ideas,” so successfully, and we may add, so easily, exploded by Locke in the first book of his Essay. That eminent philosopher does not appear to have made a distinction — which, however, would seem to be obvious enough on being stated — between innate principles of knowledge and an innate knowledge of principles. The Scotch metaphysicians have done something to elucidate this

subject in what they have said of "first principles" and "fundamental laws of belief"; but the work, as left by them, is essentially incomplete. They have not even so much as attempted a new and thorough analysis of the intellect; neither have they given a perfect list of the intuitive judgments, or the marks whereby these judgments may be infallibly distinguished from universal prejudices; in defect of which, truths purporting to rest on such judgments can hardly be said to have scientific validity. This defect Kant and his German successors have undertaken to supply, and the results of their labors, with slight modifications, have been introduced into France by Cousin, and into England by Coleridge, Whewell, and Morell. Thus far, however, as it appears, with but limited and partial success; so much so, as to convince us that if a philosophy, inculcating consistently and intelligibly moral and religious intuitions, is ever to prevail in England or in this country, it must be a philosophy of domestic, not of foreign growth. In any event, we see before us the occasion and the materials of a long, difficult, and sharply contested controversy; and the conclusions arrived at will not stop in philosophy, but materially affect, for good or for evil, men's views of the foundations of morals and religion.

Intimately connected with the preceding is a third question, which philosophy must settle for every inquiry dealing with realities, and for religion among the rest, and which belongs, therefore, to the philosophy of religion. It relates to the grounds of certitude, restricting the meaning of this term to the assurance we have of the real existence of objects answering to our perceptions and our belief. Locke is disposed to make merry with this difficulty. "If," says he, "any one will be so skeptical as to distrust his senses, and to affirm that all we see and hear, feel and taste, think and do, during our whole being, is but the series and deluding appearances of a long dream, whereof there is no reality, and therefore will question the existence of all things, or our knowledge of any thing, I must desire him to consider, that if all be a dream, then he doth but dream that he makes the question; and so it is not much matter that a waking man should answer him." Nevertheless, it was Locke's doctrine of ideas which prepared the way for Berkeley's skepticism in respect to the existence of matter; and afterwards for Hume's skepticism in respect to all existences except im-

pressions and ideas. The last awoke Kant from his dogmatic slumbers. So far, however, was he from being able to dissipate the skepticism thus introduced, that his famous "Critique of Pure Reason" only seemed to make it more radical and more hopeless, by demonstrating, as it was thought, that *certitude*, in the restricted sense in which the term is here used, — a certitude considered as involving the objective validity of human knowledge, — is impossible. An attempt has since been made by the French Eclectics to recover external realities; that is to say, to attain to objective as well as subjective knowledge, by means of "the impersonal reason"; but, as it is generally thought, without success. More recently still, Sir William Hamilton, by clearing up or improving upon Reid's doctrine, appears to have made a step of real advance, and in the right direction, in his distinction between *presentative* and *representative* knowledge. According to him, the object in perception is not known through the medium of an idea, understanding thereby either a distinct entity, or merely a modification of the brain or the mind, but immediately and in itself, as being actually present to the living and sentient organism when and where it is perceived; so that the real existence of an object is supposed in the very fact of perception, and not merely the real existence of an idea. Taking his departure from this theory of perception, and arguing upon real or fancied analogies between the intuitions of sense and those of reason, Mr. Morell thinks to establish the reality of spiritual things on the same foundation of certitude. Facts, information, tradition, the Scriptures, may all be necessary to bring spiritual objects and the spiritual world within the field of our inward vision; but when there, they are known really to exist by the fact that they are also immediately perceived in themselves, as being actually present and gazed upon by the soul.

"Such," says he, "is the real principle of catholicity, as applied to the verification of Christian truth. *Christian* ideas have incontestably proved themselves to pertain to the highest form of man's religious consciousness. Humanity itself has paid homage to them by relinquishing all other forms of worship, just as it has advanced in intelligence and civilization; and amongst all the conceptions which have sprung up in the Christian world, *those* bear the undoubted marks of certitude, which live on through every era; which, instead of appearing for a little and

then dying away, develop themselves in one steady course through the march of the ages ; and which always, by their depth, intensity, and inherent splendor, cast their shadows before them, and point out the religious course of the future. Thus, when we see the *world* tending in its spiritual development to Christianity,— when, further, we see the dim and imperfect conceptions, which have attached themselves to Christianity, dropping away, or becoming penetrated with moral idea,— and when, lastly, we can single out certain great principles of truth, which appear to be the *foci* of Christian light, which have unfolded themselves to a brighter realization from age to age, and towards which the whole Christian world is still gazing, as the great points around which their spiritual life revolves,— these, assuredly, are the very principles which bear upon them the marks of *true universality*, because they are *those to which humanity entire incessantly tends.*” — pp. 294, 295.

And again :—

“ Place this principle by the side of that which rests upon the individual reason, and it gives us at once an objective centre around which our individual speculations may securely revolve. It is *an anchor* to the soul, which, while it allows the individual to toss about at pleasure upon the surface of mere logical argumentation, yet permits him not to drift away from the proper track, or suffer shipwreck of his faith in all that is eternal and Divine. Place, again, the same principle by the side of *tradition*, and it exhibits an equal power to curb its errors and extract its real advantages. The principle of tradition looks upon the truth as something already *perfect and fixed*, and then gropes its way backwards amidst the gloom and uncertainty of past ages in order to find it. Alas ! what can result from such a process but an interminable uncertainty as to what we are to select and what to refuse ? And even if we did succeed in grasping just that which we searched for, what would it be but the dead and withered skeleton of a truth, which once, indeed, possessed vitality, but which now, drawn forth from the sepulchres of the past, has no life in the present consciousness of humanity, — no power either to subdue the world, or to complete the organism of the Church to the full and perfect stature of Christ ? We look to the past, not as an *authority*, but as an aid to interpret the present. Convinced that truth *to man* is progressive, we gaze with intense interest upon the course it has already run, and delight to trace its bright and glorious pathway down to its present stage of development. But why do we do this ? Not because the *realized truth* of any past age will satisfy the present, but because we can the better understand, by the light of history, what is the most advanced thinking of this our age, and what is the true

elevation to which our religious consciousness has now arrived. We trust *not* to the catholic thinking of the past ; we trust rather to that of the present, which contains in its embrace the fruits of the past together with the seeds of the future. Assuredly, if there be a rhythmic development of ideas in the world, it were worse than vain to read the course of history backwards, and be always looking to the vestments of worn-out ideas, instead of interpreting the living voice of God as it speaks to us in the phenomena of the present hour." — pp. 298, 299.

Thus far, we have glanced at certain problems which, though they come up for consideration in the philosophy of religion, are also common to philosophy in general, considered as the science of fundamental truths. Others are more appropriate and peculiar ; such as the conception of an infinite, perfect, absolute Being, which must not only be laid down in words, but developed as clearly as possible, and vindicated against all objections, as the fundamental principle of natural theology. Those who are solely intent on the argument from design appear sometimes to think that they can prove the existence of God in the same manner, in all respects, in which they can prove the existence of the watch-maker ; but it is not so. Suppose you have proved that the world had a creator ; it does not follow that this creator is God. Besides, the question may still be raised, Who created the Creator ? ♦ And with this question hanging over your head, it is just as easy ultimately to account for the existence of the world without a creator as with one. In order to prove the existence of a God, you must prove the existence of an absolute Being, — that is to say, of a Being who has the ground of his existence in himself ; so that, from his very nature, all questions respecting the cause or the beginning of his existence will be self-contradictory : they need not be answered, because they cannot consistently be asked.

There are also several unsettled fundamental questions belonging peculiarly to revealed religion, which it is the office of philosophy to take up and discuss. One of these respects the true theory of inspiration ; meaning thereby the way in which the human mind is made the channel of a special revelation of divine truth. And here we confess to some perplexity, not merely in making out the true theory, but still more in making out what the common theory really is, as held by Unitarians, and by rational and enlightened Christians generally. The doctrine of verbal and plenary inspiration would seem to be plain enough ; though even here we

are not without some misgivings, inasmuch as we have never met with a single respectable writer professing this doctrine who adhered consistently to the only obvious sense which the words will bear. Again, we think we can understand that view of inspiration which makes it to be nothing but native genius, excited and directed by nothing but natural agencies, — that is to say, no inspiration at all. But of the generally received theories falling between these extremes, there is not one, as it seems to us, which admits of much precision or consistency, either in statement or application, which does not allow in one what it condemns in another, leaving it for common sense to decide, after all, what shall be received as divine, without deciding whose common sense it shall be ; nay, more, there is not one, we suspect, which is entirely satisfactory to those who hold it. The whole question, as much, perhaps, as any other, calls for new and thorough elucidation ; and this we say after having read Mr. Morell's chapter on the subject, probably the most valuable and instructive in the volume. We shall copy a few passages, which, especially when considered as coming from an Orthodox theologian, and a favorite pupil of Dr. Chalmers, are certainly worthy of attention, and full of encouragement.

Of the doctrine professed and advocated, as we suppose, in most of the Orthodox pulpits in this country, he thus speaks : —

“ This theory of verbal dictation has been so generally abandoned by the thoughtful in the present day, that it is not necessary to recapitulate here the innumerable objections which crowd upon us as we proceed to deal with the details of manuscripts, various readings, translations, and the gradual formation of the Canon during the first two centuries of the Christian era.” — p. 151.

“ The reason why many have been so anxious to represent the *letter* of the Bible as inspired is, that there may be a *fixed standard* for truth in the world. They do not consider that the letter can never serve as a standard for the *spirit* of Christianity, — that the two are altogether incommensurable, — that the letter *alone*, in fact, never *has* secured the unity of the Church, but that the unity we so much yearn after comes only through the development of the religious *life*. This being the case, where is the value or the reasonableness of laying so great a stress upon the letter, when, after all, we *must* be brought, on any hypothesis, to one and the same conclusion, namely, that the Spirit of



Truth, interpreted by Divine aid, and perceived through the awakened religious consciousness of true believers, is the real and essential revelation, — the sole basis of Christian unity, — the appeal to which we all, in the end, practically repair? Whether the words be dictated or not, there is, therefore, exactly the same necessity for another and spiritual appeal; which is, in fact, nothing but affirming, in the spirit of our whole previous analysis, that, as all revelation must be made to the intuitional faculty, mere material and logical appliances, whether in the form of writing or speaking, can only avail as *means* towards the realization of the great end implied in the idea of *a revelation from God.*” — pp. 153, 154.

With reference to another popular theory, he expresses himself thus : —

“The idea is entertained by many, that a distinct commission to write was in every instance given to the sacred penmen by God; that each book came forth with a specific impress of Deity upon it; and that the whole of the Canon of Scripture was gradually completed by *so many distinct and decisive acts of Divine ordination.* Now the evidence of this opinion we regard as totally defective, and can only ascribe its growth and progress in the Church to the influence of a low and mechanical view of the whole question of inspiration itself.

“Let any one look through the whole of the books composing the Old and New Testaments, and consider how many can lay claim to any *distinct* commission, — and, consequently, how their inspiration can be at all defended *if it be made to rest upon this condition.* That Moses had a Divine commission to institute the Jewish theocracy, and to give both the moral and ceremonial law to the people, we do not doubt. But that does not prove any Divine commission to write the whole of the Pentateuch as we now have it. In fact, it is quite certain that Moses did *not* write the whole of it at all. There is, at least, a probability that the history of the creation was compiled from earlier documents or traditions; and, as to the conclusion of this record, we well know that Moses could not possibly have penned the account of his own death and burial. Added to this, it is by no means certain that ‘the book of the law,’ as occasionally referred to in Jewish history, was at all identical with the Pentateuch *as a whole*, which the best critics, in fact, have generally concurred in referring to a much later date. We do not, by these remarks, throw the slightest shade upon the inspired source of the Pentateuch; — no book of Scripture, perhaps, has greater internal arguments to vindicate it. All we mean is, that the inspiration here involved did not spring from any outward commission to write that particular

book ; but only from the Divine light which was granted to the age, and to the mind of the author,—a gift which he was left to make use of as necessity or propriety might suggest.” — pp. 155, 156.

His own views are briefly given in the following words :—

“ We have thus attempted to show that the proper idea of inspiration, as applied to the Holy Scriptures, does not include either miraculous powers, verbal dictation, or any distinct commission from God ; we have only to recur, therefore, to the definition already proposed, which regards inspiration as consisting in the impartation of clear intuitions of moral and spiritual truth to the mind by extraordinary means. According to this view of the case, inspiration, *as an internal phenomenon*, is perfectly consistent with the natural laws of the human mind ; it is a higher potency of a certain form of consciousness, which every man, to some degree, possesses. The supernatural element consists in the *extraordinary influences* employed to create these lofty intuitions, to bring the mind of the subject into a perfect harmony with truth, and that, too, at a time when, under ordinary circumstances, such a state could not possibly have been enjoyed. The personal experience of the life, preaching, character, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ, together with the remarkable effusion of spiritual influence which followed his ascension, were assuredly most extraordinary instrumentalities, wonderfully adapted, moreover, to work upon the minds of the apostles, and raise them to a state of spiritual perception and sensibility, such as has never been fully realized at any other period in the world’s history. It was these minds, thus prepared, who first founded and instructed the Church ; and the New Testament Scriptures were written long after Christianity had established itself, and after thousands had been brought under its power, in order to represent, and, so far as possible, *to retain*, the bright impressions of apostolic men, after they should have passed away to their eternal rest.” — pp. 159, 160.

“ So far as inspiration consists in an exalted state of man’s intuitional faculties, there is undoubtedly a *resemblance*, generically considered, between inspiration in the Scriptural sense, and what are sometimes denominated the inspirations of genius. Genius, as we regard it, consists in the possession of a remarkable power of intuition with reference to some particular object ; a power which arises from the inward nature of a man being brought into unusual harmony with that object in its reality and its operations. The natural philosopher manifests his genius, not by his power of analysis and verification, but by seizing distant analogies, by ascending with a sudden leap to general conceptions, by

embodying his inward ideas in some theory or hypothesis, which forms the basis and gives the direction to inductive investigation. It is, in fact, the harmony of his being with nature in her wondrous operations which enables him to grasp those *conceptions*, on the accuracy of which all scientific research so much depends; this harmony manifesting itself in that increased power of intuition, by which truth is seen in the concrete previous to its being verified by a legitimate induction. In the same manner does the poet of human life and destiny, by an elevation of mind above the influence of prevailing opinions, and a deep inward sympathy with human existence in its nature and development, unfold in spontaneous flashes of spiritual light the most secret workings of the mind and heart of humanity. Artistic genius is generically of the same order. It is the immediate realization of an ideal beauty, which it strives to express in an outward form.

"In affirming that the inspiration of the ancient seers and the chosen apostles was analogous with these phenomena, we are in no way diminishing its heavenly origin, or losing sight of the supernatural agency by which it was produced. We are only affirming what is constantly done in the case of outward miracles themselves,—that God employs natural means whenever it is possible to do so, in order to accomplish even his supernatural purposes. The power of intuition, in its pure and integral state, would imply a direct and complete reciprocity of truth whenever presented to the mind. Let there be a due purification of the moral nature,—a perfect harmony of the spiritual being with the mind of God,—a removal of all inward disturbances from the heart, and what is to prevent or disturb this immediate intuition of Divine things? And what do we require in inspiration more than this? or what can more certainly assure us of its heavenly origin? So far from detracting aught from its reality or its authority, the whole fact now becomes, on the contrary, replete with a new moral interest. Not only do we now comprehend its nature; not only do we feel its real sublimity; not only does it rise from a mere mechanical force to a phenomenon instinct with spiritual grandeur;—but we are likewise taught, that in proportion as our own hearts are purified, and our own nature brought into harmony with truth, we may ourselves indefinitely approach the same elevation. 'Blessed are the pure in heart,' said our Saviour, 'for they shall see God.'" — pp. 173–175.

Passing from the manner in which revelation is communicated to that in which it is proved, we find ourselves still in the domain of the philosophy of religion. If we would not reason in a circle, the proof of a revelation must be established without assuming its authority; consequently, this

proof must be established by philosophy alone. Sir James Mackintosh has said of Butler's "Analogy," that it is "the most original and profound work extant in any language on the philosophy of religion." There are parts of that immortal work of which we should not think this to be extravagant praise; but it certainly does not apply to the treatise as a whole. Taken as a whole, it is a celebrated illustration of what logicians call *argumentum ad hominem*; he reasons from the concessions of infidels; but what the infidels of his day — those, for example, of Bolingbroke's school — conceded, the infidels of the present day do not. And besides, Bishop Butler does not profess to give the philosophy of analogy, or to answer to subtle cavils which have been advanced respecting the legitimacy of extending analogical reasonings to a life and a world beyond human experience. Then the miracles; — who does not know how many difficult and perplexing questions are still in agitation on this subject, — questions which it is the province of philosophy to consider and decide? What is a miracle? Are miracles possible? What sort and what amount of evidence is necessary in order to prove a miracle? And what will a miracle prove when it is itself proved? Even if we say that it is a false philosophy which has raised these questions, and made them to seem difficult and perplexing, we cannot make this appear except by showing wherein the philosophy complained of is false; — which would not be to deny or exclude all philosophy, but to substitute for a false philosophy the true.

Thus have we rapidly indicated a few of the leading topics which the philosophical movement in religion will be likely to bring up for discussion, our purpose here being merely to give some just notion of the scope and extent of the argument.

To the whole it may be objected, that religion is not a matter of philosophy, but a matter of the affections and of faith, every man's salvation depending, in the last result, not on the activity or concurrence of his understanding, but on his willingness to be led. There is truth here as well as error. We would not be behind the foremost to insist on the importance and necessity of a teachable disposition, the meekness of faith, a willingness to be led, — provided, only, that "we know whom we have believed." But it is one thing to be willing to be led, and quite another to be willing to be led blindfold. It is one thing to be willing to receive

the *truth*, and quite another to be willing to receive truth or error indiscriminately. To take upon trust whatever is offered us under the name of religion, is to put all religions on a level. Undoubtedly, after all that has been said and done, a considerable proportion of mankind must take their religion, in point of fact, as they do their morals and politics, substantially on trust. Such persons do not receive Christianity through instruction in its principles, which they are afterwards to apply ; they receive its principles and application together. They reenact the religion which prevails around them, not in the form of an understood religion, but in the form of an applied religion. With persons of this description, we hardly need say, everything like philosophical discussion is out of place, and worse than useless. It is out of place, because they neither want it nor need it, not feeling any of those speculative difficulties which it is the immediate purpose of such discussions to remove. It is also worse than useless, because the danger is, that it will unsettle everything, and settle nothing, inducing in them one of the worst and most hopeless forms of skepticism ; — we mean, a suspicion that they have been imposed upon and misled, coupled with a consciousness of their own utter incompetency to set themselves right.

Such, however, are not the bulk of the intelligent laymen and men of business in this country. They are accustomed to think for themselves, and, as a necessary consequence, have their speculative, as well as their practical, difficulties ; and the most formidable of these speculative difficulties relate not to the interpretation of texts, or the logical statement of doctrine, but to more fundamental questions. A much larger number, than most persons would be willing to allow, are ready to say that Unitarianism is true, or that Calvinism is true, or that Methodism is true, *if any religion is true*. They have their reserved doubts respecting points which are vital to the whole system ; and until these doubts are distinctly met and removed, the system itself — though they should make up their minds ever so confidently as to its details — is not likely to have much influence on their conduct. We make too much of this distinction between speculative and practical difficulties. Speculative difficulties become practical, when, as in the case here supposed, they hinder a man from coming under the power of any form of Christianity.

It is a common opinion that Unitarians have been more inclined than any other sect to build on philosophy instead

of revelation ; but this is not according to history. Faustus Socinus was, we believe, among the first explicitly to maintain man's incompetency to discover by his unassisted faculties either the Divine character or the Divine existence. The fact is thus stated and commented on by Henry More : — “ 'T is most certain that the Socinians are a dry, strait-laced people ; and for want of philosophy, and of that better spirit which inclines men to religion even from their natural genius, are most what legulious interpreters of the Scripture ; though they think none comparable to themselves. How meanly they are appointed for these pretensions, the father of them may witness against them ; who was of so mean and sunk a genius, that he denied the existence of God could be proved or discovered by the light of natural reason, though it be point-blank against the Scripture.” We are not aware that any modern Unitarians have followed Socinus to the extent of denying the natural evidences for the being of God ; but several have called in question our competency to take another step on this ground, — to prove, for example, that God is good or just, or even to settle the grounds of ordinary morality. Thus Gilbert Wakefield : — “ The reason why I never took any pleasure in moral ethics, and would not give one penny for all the morality in the world, is because there is no foundation for virtue or immortality but in revelation ; and therefore I could never see any advantage from moral writings.” It may seem unaccountable to some that a sect so generally suspected of exalting reason above revelation, in matters of faith, should yet be found in fact to rely upon it, apart from revelation, so little. But a moment's reflection will clear up this seeming paradox. The more nearly a believer reduces Christianity to a bare authoritative republication of natural religion, — for example, to giving us assurance of a future state and the moral government of God, both of which Bishop Butler includes in natural religion, — the more he will be inclined to magnify the importance and necessity of such authoritative republication ; for it is only in this way that he can account to himself for the wonderful interposition and amazing sacrifices by which it was accomplished.

Still we have no doubt that Unitarians, in the movement which it has been our object to indicate and welcome, will do their part. They have already gained much by an almost universal change from the philosophy of Priestley to that of

Price. It is said of Dr. Channing, that the reading of Price, when he was a student at college, first opened his eyes upon the dignity and capacities of the human soul. Indeed, in a practical view of the subject, there would seem to be no such thing as not taking sides in this controversy. The stoutest decryer and despiser of metaphysics will hardly deny that the questions referred to above, and others like them, do really exist ; that they lie at the foundation of all religion, and must be answered in one way or another, either expressly or by implication. Accordingly, the only alternative left us would seem to be, not whether we will answer these questions or not, but whether we will answer them understandingly or not. Moreover, looking merely at its sectarian aspects, Unitarians have everything to hope and nothing to fear from a thorough discussion of the philosophy of religion. Possibly one consequence will be, that their own views will become in some respects more serious and evangelical through the deeper insight thus gained into "the mystery of godliness." But the leading and most noticeable result to be expected is, the decay and final subversion of those artificial and complicated systems of belief which are unable to bear the touch of first principles. What is called the Unitarian controversy has done, and is still doing, a good work ; but it is not by this agency alone that the errors of modern Orthodoxy are to be swept away. In the providence of God, these errors, like all others, are destined to fall ; not so much, however, by being directly impugned, as by the fall, one after another, and through a better understanding of the philosophy of religion, of the more radical and fundamental errors on which they depend.

J. W.

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#### ART. VII.—HERSCHEL'S OUTLINES OF ASTRONOMY.\*

It is unfortunately too often the case, that those who have attained to high culture in any department of knowledge find it irksome to clothe their thoughts in a popular form, and to communicate in ordinary language with the public. This

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\* *Outlines of Astronomy.* By SIR JOHN F. W. HERSCHEL. London. 1849. pp. 661.

arises in part from the difficulty of expressing themselves in common words with that nicety to which they are accustomed and which their habit of mind demands; but still more from the fact, that the talents and taste which stimulate to original researches are seldom found combined with the rhetorical acquirements which are necessary to fix the attention of differently constituted minds. For the teacher, a certain diffuseness is indispensable. His vocation requires him, as Fichte says, "not to communicate his idea as the author does, abstractly and in the one perfect conception under which it presents itself to his own mind, — but he must mould, express, and clothe it in an endless variety of forms, so as to bring it home, under some one of these garbs, to those by whose present state of culture he must be guided in the exercise of his calling. And, above all, he must possess the creative or artistic talent of the scholar."

In consequence of this repugnance to diffuse knowledge on the part of those whose calling it is to increase it, the second class of scholars has arisen, — the class who receive from the original discoverer and distribute to their fellow-men. Their profession is in itself a noble one, because without it the first would labor without benefit to their race; but, in consequence of their lower degree of culture, much error becomes intermixed with the knowledge they diffuse, in the very process of distribution.

When, therefore, a man of science, of high attainments, an original investigator, devotes himself with earnestness to the work of adapting to popular comprehension his own hard-earned knowledge, his labors are entitled to the most respectful consideration, and, if they answer their purpose, will be sure of the gratitude of the community.

It was with high gratification that we received, some time since, the announcement of a new popular work on astronomy, by Sir John Herschel. His reputation for versatility of talent and elegance of scholarship, and his past labors in astronomy and photography, have gained for him an enviable position; and, unlike most men of equal eminence, he has striven to diffuse the knowledge which he has labored to increase. If there be any one from whom the public would be warranted in anticipating a thorough, accurate, and elegant popular work on astronomy, in the English language, it is Sir John Herschel. The "Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy" was published fifteen or twenty years



ago ; and the author, occupying as he does a distinguished position among European astronomers, and possessing the authority of a doubly illustrious name, has unquestionably exerted, through this book, a highly beneficial influence upon the public mind.

In April last, the work appeared, whose title stands at the head of this article, — a work which professes to be an extension of the “*Treatise on Astronomy*,” formerly published. The author says that the “*Treatise*” has been revised and remodelled, and much new matter introduced ; that the parts relating to the lunar and planetary perturbations have been rewritten upon a far more matured and comprehensive plan ; and that those on sidereal and nebular astronomy have been brought up to the present state of our knowledge.

We have carefully read the book, and do not hesitate to say that we are disappointed. The mechanical execution is beautiful ; the text is comparatively free from typographical errors ; the plates and maps are finely engraved ; and the appearance of the volume must make an agreeable impression. But throughout the work, or, at least, throughout the new parts of it, the indications of inaccuracy are too numerous to allow us to place implicit confidence in any statement before verifying it.

Of the style we do not propose to speak. It may suffice to say that it is very unequal. While some passages are exquisitely beautiful and interesting, or thrillingly eloquent, others are so obscure as to be almost unintelligible. A single example will illustrate our meaning : —

“ Now, though we cannot see the path of a star in the heavens, we can wait till the star itself crosses the field of view, and seize the moment of its passage to place the intersection of its wires so that the star shall traverse it ; by which, when the telescope is well clamped, we equally well secure the position of its diurnal circle as if we continued to see it ever so long.” — p. 99.

Some of the expressions rivet the reader's attention, and compel his admiration by their felicity and singular aptitude, while others seem, at least to an American ear, almost pedantic, as when the author speaks (p. 388) of “ the *orthogonal* [ ? perpendicular ] component of the disturbing force,” or says (p. 405) that it is impossible to give any idea of “ the analytical conduct ” of Lagrange. We notice that

Sir John uses Dr. Whewell's word "thermotics." Why not "thermics"? And, if the word *optics*, in the sense of the science of light, be discarded, "photics" would seem more convenient than "photology," and quite as conformable to established analogy.

The introduction is reprinted with but slight change from the former work. It is a beautiful chapter, clear and concise, informing beginners in astronomy what they have a right to expect from an elementary work on this science.

"Its utmost pretension," says Herschel, "is to place them on the threshold of this particular wing of the temple of Science, or rather on an eminence exterior to it, whence they may obtain something like a general notion of its structure; or, at most, to give those, who may wish to enter, a ground-plan of its accesses, and put them in possession of the password. Admission to its sanctuary, and to the privileges and feelings of a votary, is only to be gained by one means, — *sound and sufficient knowledge of mathematics, the great instrument of all exact inquiry, without which no man can ever make such advances in this or any other of the higher departments of science, as can entitle him to form an independent opinion on any subject of discussion within their range.* It is not without an effort that those who possess this knowledge can communicate on such subjects with those who do not, and adapt their language and their illustrations to the necessities of such an intercourse. Propositions which to the one are almost identical are theorems of import and difficulty to the other; nor is their evidence presented in the same way to the mind of each."

The book is divided into four parts. The first comprises more than half the volume, and treats of spherical astronomy, astronomical instruments, and the bodies of our solar system; the second is devoted to the theory of planetary perturbations; the third is on sidereal astronomy; and in the last, which consists of but a single chapter, is a description of the several ways of keeping account of time, and of the different calendars.

The first few chapters are occupied with general ideas and elementary conceptions, terminology, and the like. Although these would naturally demand a place at the commencement of a popular work, and although they are elaborately given, yet we much doubt whether, as they stand, they will be of any service to beginners, unless perhaps these chapters may answer as a dictionary of technical terms. We say this on

account of the obscurity which they would present to the class of readers for whom the book is designed. Statements of simple propositions are made in technical language, and enveloped with a shroud of symbolic letters; which, however clear to those accustomed to mathematical studies, are still in no wise attractive to the general reader. For instance, in the note to p. 55, speaking of the relative motion of two bodies, he says:—

“If two bodies, A and B, be in motion independently of each other, the motion which B, seen from A, would appear to have if A were at rest, is the same with that which it would appear to have, A being in motion, if, in addition to its own motion, a motion equal to A's, and in the same direction, were communicated to it.”

This proposition seems to us indeed to require “more thought for its clear apprehension than can perhaps be expected from a beginner,” more, indeed, than should be demanded of any one for the comprehension of so simple an idea. We believe that its meaning is merely,—that the real motion of a body (which is seen from another moving one) is the resultant of its apparent motion and that of the observer.

An anecdote is related upon page 20, in connection with the remarks on the “dip of the horizon.” “The history of aëronautic adventure” is said to “afford a curious illustration” of this principle. A celebrated aëronaut, by the name of Sadler, descended in his balloon nearly to the surface of the sea, after sunset; but, throwing out his ballast, suddenly rose again to a great height, and enjoyed “the whole phenomenon of a western sunrise.” On descending again, he saw the sun set a second time. It is somewhat remarkable, that, in the course of his long Atlantic voyages, the author had never availed himself of a means of enjoying the same curious illustration, without any expenditure of gas. The masts and rigging of a ship furnish all the necessary apparatus, as every sailor, and almost every passenger, knows. It is by no means an unusual thing for an observer at the mast-head, or even at the crosstrees, to witness a sunrise, and then, descending rapidly, enjoy what the author would call the whole phenomenon of an eastern sunset.

A page or two farther on, the height of the atmosphere and of clouds is discussed. Sir John there states that “it seems probable, from many indications, that the greatest height at

which visible clouds *ever exist* does not exceed ten miles ; at which height the density of the air is about an eighth part of what it is at the level of the sea." In a report to the French Academy, concerning the voyage of the frigate Venus in the Atlantic Ocean and South Sea, the commander, Admiral Du Petit Thouars, names as the maximum of the observed height of clouds, fourteen hundred metres.\* Kaemtz, however, in his Treatise on Meteorology, (i. 384,) states, that, on one occasion, a cloud was observed at the height of sixty-five hundred metres. This would give a maximum height of about four miles. We cannot, therefore, but cordially agree with Herschel that their greatest height probably never does exceed ten miles.'

It is an interesting question at what height the specific gravity of the atmosphere would permit visible vapor to remain suspended. The density of air at the height of ten miles would correspond to a barometric pressure of one hundred and two millimetres, — about four inches.

The chapter upon astronomical instruments and observations will probably be useful to the beginner ; although, as we should expect, English instruments are described rather than continental ones, and the student is referred to Dr. Pearson's *Astronomy*. The standard of precision is a corresponding one ; — as when we read (on the same page) that "in good transit observations, an error of *two or three tenths of a second of time* in the moment of a star's culmination is the utmost which need be apprehended, exclusive of the error of the clock." Should this meet the eye of any of the German or Russian astronomers, they will be indeed amazed at the degree of precision which may be obtained !

We were somewhat surprised on reading the note at the bottom of the 103d page. Sir John Herschel there says :—

"By a peculiar and delicate manipulation and management of the setting, bisection, and reading off of the circle, aided by the use of a movable horizontal micrometric wire in the focus of the object-glass, it is found practicable to observe a slow-moving star (as the pole-star) *on one and the same night*, both by reflection and direct vision, sufficiently near to either culmination to give the horizontal point, without risking the change of refraction in twenty-four hours ; so that this source of error is completely eliminated."

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\* A mile is a little more than 1609 metres.

Although the author seems to have been unaware of many of the refinements introduced into the continental observations, it is astonishing that he should not have known that it has been for many years the usage at Greenwich to observe not merely the slow-moving, but also the equatorial stars, at the same transit, both by reflection and by direct vision ; — the star being directly observed over one half the threads, and the telescope then quickly pointed to the reflected image, by means of an index-level previously set for this purpose.

The method of determining the zero point of an altitude circle, by reflection of the cross-threads of the telescope from the surface of mercury, is erroneously ascribed in page 108 to Benzenberg. Astronomy is indebted to Bohnenberger for this beautiful and accurate process, by which the telescope is "made its own collimator."

Still more strange is the manner in which the author entirely omits any mention of the name of Thomas Godfrey, of Philadelphia, "the inventor," as Dr. Franklin said long since, "of what is called Hadley's sextant." In the *American Magazine* for the months of July and August, 1758, and in the Notes to the first volume of Dr. Miller's "*Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*," are a series of letters which prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, the independent invention of the instrument by Godfrey in 1730, prior to any publication by Hadley upon the subject. It is there shown how the knowledge of the invention could have reached Mr. Hadley ; and letters are published, written by both Logan and Godfrey to Dr. Halley, at that time Astronomer Royal of England. The date of these letters was 1732. Two years later, Mr. Logan publicly stated that he had transmitted his letter to Halley in May of that year. "I must own," said he, "that I could not but wonder that our good-will was never acknowledged. I did not then, nor do I now, assume any other merit than this in either of Godfrey's instruments. I only wished that the ingenious inventor himself might by some means be taken notice of, in a manner that might be of real advantage to him." All these circumstances of Mr. Logan's complaint were, as Dr. Miller stated in a foot-note, entirely omitted in the account of the matter which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, "which strengthens the conjecture that justice has not been done to the original inventor." A claim has lately been brought forward for Sir Isaac Newton ; and Herschel speaks only of him and Hadley, making

not the slightest allusion to Godfrey. He says of the invention (note to p. 115), —

“ Newton communicated it to Dr. Halley, who suppressed it. The description of the instrument was found, after the death of Halley, among his papers in Newton's own handwriting, by his executor, who communicated the papers to the Royal Society, twenty-five years after Newton's death, and eleven after the publication of Hadley's invention, which might be, and probably was, independent of any knowledge of Newton's, though Hutton insinuates the contrary.”

Newton's death occurred in 1727. It is certain, therefore, as Dr. Patterson showed in his Address before the American Philosophical Society, at their centennial anniversary, that Godfrey could, at any rate, have had no knowledge of the paper. If the principle, that the publisher of an invention is to be regarded as the discoverer, be applied, as it should be, to this case, nothing can conflict with Godfrey's claim. Allowing all that is asserted concerning the manuscript among Halley's papers, it must have been a mere accident that it was ever found. A great number of interesting and valuable manuscripts of Newton still exist. Are they ever to be published? or will the narrow bigotry, which has thus far withheld them from the world, consign them to oblivion?

Notwithstanding this total neglect of Godfrey's claims, and of the authority of Franklin, Logan, and Patterson, we are yet gratified to perceive in the work indications of a more liberal spirit toward foreign science, than has usually characterized English popular works. Especially with regard to this country, the petty pseudo-nationality which has so long ignored the advances in science made by Americans, is decidedly decreasing. It is perhaps in a less degree evident in the work before us, than in any English astronomical treatise which has been published. The author, although more deeply imbued with the predilections and tastes of his own country than with the liberality which pervades all departments of learning in the home of his ancestors, is too high-minded and noble to allow himself intentionally to misrepresent any facts or theories. When, therefore, — as with regard to Peirce's article on the comet of 1843, to the claims of Godfrey to the invention of the sextant, to the elaborate researches made in America on the theory of Neptune, and many other subjects, — the labors of Ameri-

can astronomers have been passed over in silence, or met with sneers instead of arguments, it is perhaps unjust not to suppose that the author was either ignorant of them, or misunderstood their true bearing.

We have no particular desire to lay stress upon this. It is a very small matter. America, "thanks to God and to herself," needs no foreign praise, no adventitious renown. We are considering solely the merits of the "*Outlines of Astronomy*."

On page 172 we read that "it is a fact not a little interesting to Englishmen, and, combined with our insular station in that great highway of nations, the Atlantic, not a little explanatory of our commercial eminence, that London occupies nearly the centre of the terrestrial hemisphere"; and in a note the author states, that this central point falls almost exactly upon the town of Falmouth. Ritter called attention to the fact that the continent of Europe occupied this central position. To attempt to define it precisely is futile, and would show a misapprehension of the theories of physical geography, which are large generalizations, in which precise computation is not only uncalled for, but incongruous, and therefore inadmissible. The position of the centre of the terrestrial hemisphere depends of course upon the equator which we assume, and this may be considerably varied without any sacrifice of accuracy. Different individuals would unquestionably estimate it differently. We think, however, that any one who will set a twelve-inch globe in such a position as to bring the greatest possible amount of land above the wooden circle which represents the horizon, will find that the region between Rome and Palermo occupies the highest point. If, on the other hand, we take the view of centrality suggested by Professor Guyot, in his beautiful lectures on "*Earth and Man*," and select the point from which the three great continental formations diverge at mutual angles of about  $120^\circ$ , we come nearly upon Syria, the supposed cradle of the human race.

A strange assumption is to be found throughout the work. It is, that the heating power of the solar rays is independent of the atmosphere through which they are transmitted. According to this, the summits of mountains should at noon be the warmest places. While refraining from expressing any decided opinion of our own, we cannot but consider it strange that Sir John Herschel should express his own views

so dogmatically upon a question where the scientific world are divided, even were his own opinions those of the majority. On page 235 he enters into an argument to prove that the temperature of the sun's surface is higher "than any artificial heat produced in our furnaces, or by chemical or galvanic processes." In favor of this hypothesis he adduces three distinct arguments: "1st. From the law of decrease of radiant heat and light, which, being inversely as the squares of the distances, it follows that the heat received on a given area exposed at the distance of the earth, and on an equal area at the visible surface of the sun, must be in the proportion of the area of the sky occupied by the sun's apparent disc to the whole hemisphere, or as 1 to about 300000. A far less intensity of solar radiation, collected in the focus of a burning-glass, suffices to dissipate gold and platinum in vapor. 2dly. From the facility with which the calorific rays of the sun traverse glass, a property which is found to belong to the heat of artificial fires in the direct proportion of their intensity. 3dly. From the fact that the most vivid flames disappear, and the most intensely ignited solids appear only as black spots on the disc of the sun, when held between it and the eye. From the last remark it follows, that the body of the sun, however dark it may appear when seen through its spots, *may*, nevertheless, be in a state of most intense ignition. It does not, however, follow of necessity that it *must* be so. The contrary is, at least, physically possible."

Of these reasons, we will only say that the first and second rest entirely upon the assumption above referred to, and that the third proves only the sun's intense splendor, not its intense heat.

The flame-like protuberances on the eclipsed disc which accompanied the solar eclipse of July, 1842, and which have been since so often described and commented upon, the author considers clearly proved to have been cloudy masses in the solar atmosphere (p. 235); and the somewhat similar phenomenon of patches of red light on the edge of the moon's disc, which have been so often observed in lunar eclipses, is ingeniously explained by supposing the rays of the sun, refracted round the earth, to be partially transmitted and partially intercepted by terrestrial clouds, and red light to be thus thrown into the umbra.

There is a widely disseminated notion that the author's



father, the illustrious William Herschel, believed in the dependence of meteorological phenomena, especially the state of the weather, upon the phases of the moon. The most careful study of barometric and thermometric records has uniformly failed to indicate any connection between these so widely different phenomena, and no theory has pointed out any reason for such connection; yet the belief in this dependence of the weather upon the moon is still deeply rooted in the minds of many, and defended by citing the great name of Sir William Herschel. Sir John, at last, by a letter published in Schumacher's *Astronomical Journal*, openly denied that either his father or himself had entertained such views, or pretended to be able to predict, by any length of time, the state of the weather. In the work before us, he again states his belief that there is no evidence of any influence of the moon upon the weather, excepting the tendency of clouds to disappear under the full moon, — a tendency which he has independently observed, but to which Humboldt alluded in his personal narrative as a fact known to the sailors of Spanish America.

After a full account of the two most conspicuous celestial bodies, the sun and moon, of the theory of eclipses and the law of gravitation, the author proceeds to the consideration of the other members of our solar system, and devotes the three remaining chapters of the first part of his book to the planets, satellites, and comets. We have some strictures to make upon these chapters, although we must acknowledge not having studied them enough to appreciate their merit; — perhaps in consequence of the impressions derived from the first perusal.

The small planets, belonging to the extensive and remarkable group between Mars and Jupiter, have, by the common consent of astronomers, received the name of *asteroids*. This term was originally proposed by the elder Herschel, and though perhaps open to criticism, has been so universally adopted, that it must now be regarded as their legitimate name. The word *asteroid* is fortunately in the index, but is to be found, we believe, in no other part of the book, excepting as a definition on page 294. The name *ultra-zodiacal planets* has been substituted, and, with a single exception, used throughout the volume. The degree of correctness of this term may be inferred from the fact, that, out of the ten planets known to belong to this group, there are

only four which ever pass the limits of the zodiac, the other six being as strictly confined within these limits as any of the large planets. On page 426, the asteroids are called *extra-tropical planets*. We are at a loss to know what this means. The only interpretation which we can give to the word *extra-tropical* is "outside the tropics"; but we cannot believe that so experienced an observer as Sir John Herschel would deny that every planet comes, nearly once a year, within this category.

While speaking of the "ultra-zodiacal" or "extra-tropical" group, the author alludes to the empirical formula which has been called "Bode's law." In the "Treatise on Astronomy," the author stated his conviction that "the circumstances mentioned lead to a strong belief that it is something beyond a mere accidental coincidence, and belongs to the essential structure of the system." In the present edition, the sentence is retained, with the exception that the verbs have been changed from the present to the imperfect tense.

In the note to the new work, he says : —

"The empirical law itself, as we have above stated it, is ascribed by Voiron, not to Bode, (who would appear, however, at all events, to have first drawn attention to this interpretation of its interruption,) but to Professor Titius, of Wittemberg. (Voiron, Supplement to Bailly.)"

Bode was neither the first to draw attention to the empirical law, nor to its interruption; and had the author looked a little farther, he would have found that Voiron, who merely copied the reference to Titius, was not the only one who had called attention to his claim. Lalande mentions, in the appendix to his Bibliography, (p. 545,) that Titius, in the notes to his translation\* of Bonnet's "*Contemplation de la Nature*," published in 1772, remarked that the distances of the planetary orbits from the orbit of Mercury might be represented by the multiples of 3, but that a term of the series was wanting between Mars and Jupiter, where an unknown planet might perhaps exist, and thus fill the gap concerning which Kepler had speculated so much.

Biot, too, in his series of articles in the "*Journal des*

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\* See edition of 1783, p. 14, where, however, a point is erroneously printed throughout instead of the sign of addition.

*Savants*, 1846," not only alluded to Titius in this connection, (as did also Gauss in the "*Monatl. Correspondenz*," 1802,) but gave the reference to Lalande. Bode first mentioned it in his "*Einleitung zur Kenntniss des gestirnten Himmels*," referring, however, to two articles by Wurm, in the Berlin Astronomical Almanac for 1790 and 1791. In these two papers, Wurm had given the formula, apparently without knowing that it had been previously published by Titius, and in a general algebraical form, which applied also to the distances of satellites from their primaries.\* In communicating this formula, together with several other equally curious ones, Wurm had the merit of calling especial attention to the fact that the harmony of the progression was broken by Mercury. The proposition was, however, stated in such a form as to be approximately true, by reckoning the distances, not from the sun, but from the orbit of Mercury. Wurm did not pretend to believe the progression to be anything more than a curious coincidence, and earnestly requested that too much weight might not be attributed to it. He called the idea an astronomical fantasy, (*astronomische Schwärmerei*), and alluded to the analogy which Kepler had discovered between the five regular solids and the five planetary intervals. This analogy, which was subsequently destroyed by the discovery of Uranus, represented in fact all the planetary distances quite as well as the formula of which we now speak. Kepler announced it, in triumphant language, in his "*Mysterium Cosmographicum*," a work written expressly to develop this theory : —

"Quid mundus, quæ causa Deo, ratioque creandi,  
Unde Deo numeri, quæ tantæ regula moli,  
Quid faciat sex circuitus, quo quælibet orbe,  
Intervalla cadant, cur tanto Jupiter et Mars,  
Orbibus haud primis, interstinguantur hiatu :  
Hic te Pythagoras docet omnia quinque figuris.  
Scilicet exemplo docuit, nos posse renasci,  
Bis mille erratis, dum'fit Copernicus, annis,  
Hoc, melior Mundi speculator, nominis. At tu  
Glandibus inventas noli postponere fruges."

We are, then, only warranted in considering the formula of Titius, Wurm, or Bode, as the reader may please to call

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\* Prof. Challis, of Cambridge, Eng., published an interesting paper in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of that University, (vol. iii. p. 171,) to show that "Bode's law" finds application in the systems of satellites as well as in the system of primary planets. He was evidently unaware of this article by Wurm.

it, as a neat representation of the planetary distances, valuable for the mnemonic aid which it affords. The illustrious Gauss has repeatedly protested against its being termed a law, inasmuch as it is, at the best, but approximate, and in no respect possessing the precision which characterizes Nature's laws. The discovery of Neptune at the distance 11 beyond the orbit of Uranus, while the formula would make this distance 19, has, we conceive, shaken the faith of the firmest adherent. While for this and many other reasons we differ decidedly from the author in his views regarding the discovery of Neptune, we cannot but admire the exquisite applicability of his quotation from Schiller's epigram on Columbus, and abstain from saying anything which could mar the beauty of the thought : —

“ Mit dem Genius steht die Natur in ewigem Bunde,  
Was der Eine verspricht, leistet die Andre gewiss.”

Nature is bound in a never-ceasing alliance with genius,  
That which is promised by one, ever the other provides.

In consequence of the confusion which arose in the nomenclature of the satellites of Saturn, from the circumstance that the order of their discovery was not that of their distances, the author proposed, some time since, a mythological nomenclature, analogous to that of the planets. The unnecessary multiplication of empirical names should unquestionably be avoided ; but in this case the new nomenclature, though unwieldy, would perhaps tend to perspicuity, and it seems, therefore, to have been adopted by Messrs. Bond and Lassell, each of whom, after his independent detection of an eighth satellite, gave to the new body the name *Hyperion*. This is not mentioned in the text of the work before us, which was probably printed at the time. The author, desirous of facilitating the remembrance of the names which he had proposed, suggests (in the note to p. 337) the following pentameters as affording an easy artificial memory, the series commencing with the most distant satellite : —

“ Iapetus, Titan, Rhea, Dione, Tethys [pron. Téthys]  
Enceladus, Mimas ——— ”

The name selected for the new satellite, however appropriate it may be, does not seem inclined to lend itself to verse, nor, by its interpolation, to improve the rhythm. But after placing it in its proper position in the line, the names may be read into a kind of anti-Virgilian hexameter, which

may be of service to those who desire to remember them, and are accustomed to rely upon mnemonic aid : —

Iapetus, Hyperion, Titan, Rhea, Dione,  
Tethys, Enceladusque, Mimas, — Titanides octo.

Although availing ourselves of the “poetic license” to its full extent, we are thus enabled to give the correct quantity to the first syllables of Tethys and Mimas.

We are told on page 322 that Neptune is attended “very probably by two satellites, though the existence of the second can hardly yet be considered as quite demonstrated.”

In the chapter upon comets, a great number of the errors which existed in the former edition have been corrected. But the greater part of the chapter consists of new matter. We shall not stop to criticize the statement that some comets move in hyperbolas, although Professor Peirce has shown the extreme improbability of this. No one will deny the *possibility* that an intense perturbation by one of the large planets might, under peculiar circumstances, throw a comet into a hyperbolic orbit ; so, too, the centre of gravity of the solar system might be in a direction sufficiently different from that of the sun to cause an elliptic orbit to *appear* hyperbolic ; but the eccentricity of none of the orbits, to which Sir John Herschel refers, can be said to differ sufficiently from unity to put their hyperbolism beyond question.

A highly interesting account of Halley's and of Biela's comet is given, in the course of which the author states his views concerning the formation of comets' tails. While we admire the clearness with which these views are expressed, we would take the same ground as we took before with regard to the solar heat, — that while different astronomers are so far from agreeing in their opinions, this want of unanimity ought to be alluded to in an elementary work. The near approach of Biela's comet to the earth's orbit is mentioned, and the remark made, that had the earth, “at the time of the comet's passage in 1832, been a month in advance of its actual place, it would have passed through the comet, — a singular rencontre, perhaps not unattended with danger.”\*

In the account of the periodicity of Faye's comet, no allusion whatever is made to Professor Goldschmidt, who first discovered that it moved in an ellipse of short period.

Respecting the periodic comet discovered by Peters in 1846, the author says, that elliptic elements have been com-

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\* *Qu.* To the earth, or to the comet ?

puted by D'Arrest, "which go to assign it a place among the comets of short period, viz. 5804.3, days, or very nearly 16 years. The eccentricity of the orbit is 0.75672, its semi-axis 6.32066, and the inclination of its plane to that of the ecliptic  $31^{\circ} 2' 14''$ ." It is most true, that D'Arrest computed these elements; but Sir John Herschel does not seem to have been aware that Dr. Peters afterwards published, in 1847, — more than eighteen months before the publication of the "Outlines of Astronomy," — a labored and classic work upon this comet, — the "*Memoria sopra la Nuova Cometa Periodica di tredici anni*," — in which, after a thorough discussion of the whole series of observations from June 26th to July 21st, he deduces a final orbit. The resulting period is about  $12\frac{17}{10}$  years, or less than 4700 days. The eccentricity of the orbit is 0.72134, its semi-axis (major) 5.48558, and the inclination of its plane to the ecliptic  $30^{\circ} 24' 24''$ . Peters has still farther shown that the period cannot be so long as fourteen years.

The great comet of 1843 is discussed at length, but the author does not appear to have seen Peirce's important article in the American Almanac for 1844, which is by far the most thorough research concerning that comet ever published. Nor is any mention made of the remarkable observation on the 27th February, the day of the perihelion passage, by Captain Ray, and given to the public by Hon. William Mitchell, of Nantucket, although this is the observation which has furnished the chief difficulty to computers; nor yet a word said of the extremely valuable observations, made on the 28th, by Mr. Bowring, in Chihuahua, where the comet was visible from nine o'clock in the morning until sunset. These observations were published both in the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy, and in Schumacher's Journal. And what is very strange, while we read on page 370 that "there seem good grounds for believing that its whole course cannot be reconciled with a parabolic orbit, and that it really describes an ellipse," yet not one of the five orbits given as "those which seem entitled to most confidence" is an ellipse. Herschel has, moreover, given three out of these five orbits erroneously. The first is a hyperbola, computed as an experiment by Encke, before the series of observations was complete, — and an orbit to which the Prussian Astronomer Royal would attach but little weight, as it deviates from Clarke's observation of Feb. 28th by nearly seven minutes.

Herschel has stated the Greenwich time of the perihelion passage in this orbit to be, Feb. 27.45096. The fraction should, according to Encke, be .46056. In Plantamour's elements, he has given the inclination as  $35^{\circ} 8' 56''$ ; it should be  $35^{\circ} 45' 39''$ . In the third orbit, the time of perihelion is put down, Feb. 27.39638, and the longitude of the node,  $1^{\circ} 48' 3''$ ; these numbers should be 27.42700 and  $1^{\circ} 48' 43''$ .

But we are throwing away our time and the space allowed us, by dwelling upon errors of minor importance. On the next page we read that the heat to which the comet was subjected surpassed, in the proportion of  $24\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, that in the focus of a certain great lens, which melted agate and rock crystal.

After mentioning the marked similarity of the orbit to that of the comet of 1668, whose identity with this one may be considered as almost demonstrated, Herschel proceeds to state the arguments in favor of its identity with that of 1689, and its consequent period of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  years. Walker first suggested this period, but no allusion is made to him. Peirce recalculated the elements of the latter comet and found an orbit differing much from Pingré's, and sufficiently similar to that of the present comet to offer no obstacle to the hypothesis. He rejected the theory, however, because he found it incapable of representing the observations. Herschel, on the other hand, does not look at the question from this point of view, but says (p. 372), —

“It is worth remarking, that this period, calculated backwards from 1843.156 will bring us upon a series of years remarkable for the appearance of great comets, many of which, as well as the imperfect descriptions we have of their appearance and situation in the heavens, offer at least no obvious contradiction to the supposition of their identity with this. Besides those already mentioned as indicated by the period of 175 years, we may specify as probable or possible intermediate returns, those of the comets of 1733?, 1689 above mentioned, 1559?, 1537, 1515, 1471, 1426, 1405 – 6, 1383, 1361, 1340, 1296, 1274, 1230, 1208, 1098, 1056, 1034, 1012, 990?, 925?, 858? , 684, 552, 530, 421, 245 or 247, 180, 158. Should this view of the subject be the true one, we may expect its return about the end of 1864 or beginning of 1865, in which event it will be observable in the Southern Hemisphere, both before and after its perihelion passage.”

It would hardly be difficult, we may be permitted to say, to furnish for any theory a list of corresponding years, in which somebody has reported a comet. The catalogue of

comets, real or imagined, is so large, that, in many cases, some record may be found of sixty or seventy during the lapse of a century. It cannot, of course, be inferred that so many have actually appeared; for, owing to mistakes of date, and to the assumption that every brilliant meteor was a comet, the true number has been unquestionably much exaggerated. Whenever a monarch died, or any calamity occurred, whether a comet had been seen or not, it was yet inferred that one must have been in the heavens; inasmuch as celestial portents always preceded such occurrences, and the historian or the biographer of royalty seldom omitted to record the fiery swords in the heavens. These become, in course of time, comets. The translation and publication, by Goubil, Guignes, and latterly by Edouard Biot, of the Chinese astronomical annals, has furnished a large addition to the catalogues previously existing, and we are thus enabled to find, within a year of almost any given date, some recorded appearance.

When nothing is said concerning a comet excepting that it was seen, we are of course unable to adduce any argument for or against the hypothesis of its identity with another one; but fortunately, there is, in most cases, some little remark appended, containing either a rough intimation of the part of the heavens where it appeared, or of the time at which it was visible. It is so with regard to the most of those cited above.

The perihelion distance of the comet of 1843 is, as the author has already said, smaller than that of any other comet which has been recorded. The angle between node and perihelion is about  $82^{\circ}$ , and it is therefore evident that only an extremely small part of the orbit can be situated north of the ecliptic, — a part which the comet would require about two hours to traverse. No comet, therefore, which has been observed to be in north latitude, except on the day of its perihelion, can be for a moment presumed to be identical with this one. From December to July, it can never have been seen in the signs between the middle of Cancer and Sagittarius, nor in the other months between Capricorn and Gemini. This is clear to any one who will reflect for a moment, or draw the roughest diagram. And, as the axis of the orbit is nearly perpendicular to the line of nodes, and the orbit very eccentric, the comet is invisible to all observers north of the equator, except for a very short time, directly before and after the perihelion passage.



Let us now compare the comets of the author's list with the comet of 1843, using for reference the *Cometography* of Pingré, from which, as Sir John Herschel states, "all these recorded appearances are taken." We will consider them separately.

1733. Of this one, Herschel himself says that it "seems too early in the year."

† 1559. This year two comets are mentioned, — the one was seen in the east for three or four weeks in May and June, which never could have been true for the comet of 1843; of the other we have only the record, "Comet in November."

1537. "Comet in January," says Pingré, "in Pisces, and another in May in Taurus. These are manifestly the two following ones," — those of 1538 and 1539. Be this as it may, neither can agree with the supposition of identity, for the first was seen in  $17^{\circ}$ , the second in  $12^{\circ}$ , north latitude.

1515. A comet is said to have announced the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, who died in 1516, the year given by Pingré, and not in 1515, as Herschel asserts.

1471. The first one mentioned this year was seen in *Virgo* in the month of *March*. The second was the comet known as that of 1472. It first appeared in 1471, and lasted many months. Its orbit, moreover, has been calculated by Halley and Langier, and found totally different from that of the comet of 1843.

† 1426. "On the 9th of June," says Pingré, "a comet was seen above the church of the Frères-mineurs; it extended its rays towards the great square of the town (Liege); it lasted a week." As we have no means of knowing the position of the observer, we can say nothing on the subject, and leave to the author all the support for his theory which he can deduce from the comet of 1426.

† 1405–6. No comet is recorded in 1405. "In the first half of 1406, a comet was seen in the west."

1383. The following is Pingré's account: — "In 1383, the tomb of St. Dominique was opened, and, as long as it remained open, a large and very brilliant star, from which three tails diverged, remained immovably fixed above the church of this saint. I do not consider this phenomenon to have been a comet."

1361. Pingré says that the mention of a comet in this year was manifestly through mistake, and that the first one of

1362 was intended. This was too far north, having been near  $\lambda$  Pegasi. It was there, moreover, *in the month of March*, and visible *for two months*. The second comet of 1362 was so far north that it did not set. Its rays are said to have been a foot long.

1340. "Evidently a southern comet and a very probable appearance."—*Herschel*. "Seen *at the end of Virgo or beginning of Libra*, toward the last of March."—*Pingré*.

1296. "A comet, *visible for a long time* in the heavens, announced future events, and especially the death of the Emperor Adolphus, *who died in 1298*."

† 1274. "Probably a return of that of 1661."

† 1230. No particulars known. "Perhaps a return of *Halley's comet*."—*Pingré* and *Herschel*.

The comet of 1231 was seen *in Scorpio* in March, and had at one time a north latitude of  $60^\circ$ .

1208. *Pingré* believes this to have been the planet Venus.

† 1098. "The very night of the taking of Antioch, (June 3,) the comet, which is accustomed to announce the revolution of empires, shone out among the stars of the sky, and spread far the brilliancy of its rays. A redness of fire was also seen between the north and east." Nothing more is known of it.

1056. This comet was so far to the northward as to be "among the stars which never set."

† 1034. With regard to this comet we know nothing which would make the supposition of identity preposterous.

1012. Was seen *for three months*.

† 990. "'Comète fort épouvantable' some year between 989 and 998."—*Herschel*. *Pingré* mentions *nine* within this period. Seven of them could not possibly have been identical with the comet of 1843. Of the other two nothing is known, but that they are said to have appeared; this, however, upon very slight authority.

925. This one was seen in the autumn after sunset, which sets the hypothesis of identity at rest.

858. At the death of Pope Benedict III., in April, a comet was seen in the east, with its tail toward the west. That of 1843 could not have been in this position.

684. Three comets are mentioned this year. "Dates begin to be obscure," says the author! It is nevertheless impossible for either of the three to be brought into conformity with his hypothesis, for the first was seen *in September*, to-

wards the west, the second between Christmas and Epiphany, near the *Pleiades*, and the third was visible for three months.

† 552. "Torches were seen in heaven, and a comet appeared, the year before the death of Theodebald."—*Pingré*.

530—531. The first was seen for twenty days in the west, with its tail towards the zenith. The second went from Arcturus to the Great Bear, far to the north.

† 421. Kao-tsou ascended the throne of China in 420 or 421. "In the fourth moon of the first year of his reign a comet appeared." "In Europe, an admirable sign was seen in the heavens. Could it have been a comet?"—*Pingré*.

† 245 or 247. For the first of these the hypothesis is not impossible. The second was seen for 156 days.

180. This one was near *Sirius*, in November.

158. "Janssen Twisk, in his Treatise on Comets, mentions one, *qui a dû paraître cette année!*"—*Pingré*.

We have thus reviewed the whole list, excepting the comet of 1689, the similarity of whose true elements was shown at the time by Professor Peirce's investigations, which have furnished Herschel with his arguments as respects this comet. We see, that, of twenty-eight recorded comets, which are specified by Sir John Herschel "as probable or possible intermediate returns," there are seventeen which could not possibly, under any supposition, be made to accord with his theory. Of the eleven which remain, *Pingré* doubts the existence of four, two correspond with probable appearances of other periodical comets, and of three others nothing whatever is known.

Had so loose and unwarranted assertions appeared in any elementary work made by a professed compiler, they would deserve and receive the severest reprehension. In a work like the one before us, and coming from such an author, they cannot fail to excite deep regret,—and the deeper, the greater the author's reputation, and the injury which they are therefore likely to do. Why was the concluding sentence of this chapter in the "*Treatise on Astronomy*" omitted in the present edition?

In passing to the criticism of the other divisions of the work, we will state that the inaccuracies to which we have alluded have not been detected by any search instituted with this object, but are those which struck our attention upon the first cursory perusal. The work abounds also in mistakes of carelessness, to which we have not thought it

necessary to allude, because they are not particularly dangerous, since the slightest reference to authorities would rectify them. Thus, for instance, the author says (p. 351) that Halley's comet in 1835 was "observed at Pulkowa up to the very day of its perihelion passage." He meant unquestionably Dorpat, since the Pulkowa Observatory was not established till 1839. On page 356, reference is made to Schumacher's Catalogue of Comets. The celebrated catalogue by Olbers is intended, which was published in the collection of astronomical papers edited by Professor Schumacher. So, too, we find (p. 159) that "the differences of longitude between the *observatories of New York, Washington, and Philadelphia*, have been very recently determined [by electro-magnetic telegraph] by the astronomers at those observatories."

The second part of the book treats, as has been already said, of the lunar and planetary perturbations. It is this part of the work to which Herschel has devoted the most attention in preparing the "Outlines." But, as he justly remarked in the Preface, this subject cannot be made elementary. The author has succeeded, better than would perhaps have been supposed, in expressing a number of important theorems in ordinary language, and in giving a general sketch of the subject without using the phraseology of the calculus. But we much doubt whether his mode of presenting the subject will prove attractive to any class of students. We think that by far the majority of readers will pass over these chapters; that those who possess sufficient mathematical taste to relish the account here given will need no aid of the kind in order to comprehend the analytical treatment of the subject; and that mathematicians who are already familiar with the theory of perturbations will find Herschel's development heavy and yet diffuse. Still we are ready to acknowledge that the difficulty lies rather in the nature of the problem than in the author.

The theory of Neptune is the only part of which we intend to speak, and we desire the more earnestly to speak of this, not so much on account of our conviction of the untenable nature of the ground here taken, and of the flaws in the reasoning, — flaws none the less perceptible from the labor bestowed on the endeavour to conceal them, — as on account of the authority which the author's name carries with it, Credence would unquestionably be given to his statements,

were they not boldly challenged and clearly refuted. Men have even been found in this community ready to consider a slur in the "*Outlines of Astronomy*" a sufficient offset to the authority of America's most illustrious geometer.

It almost seems as if the very name Neptune were, throughout the book, under the ban of some evil genius ; for seldom indeed does it occur, unaccompanied by an erroneous statement. The first place in which it is to be found, in this division of the work, is on page 427, where it is stated that "forty-one revolutions of Neptune are nearly equal to eighty-one of Uranus, giving rise to an inequality, having 6805 years for its period." The author probably obtained these numbers by using the incorrect elements of Uranus which he has given in his appendix ; — elements, once a fair approximation, but utterly inadequate to furnish data of proper accuracy, since the careful determination of the orbit of Uranus by Le Verrier. Successive approximations to the ratio of the two periods are  $\frac{21}{47}$ ,  $\frac{23}{48}$ , and  $\frac{41}{88}$ , the last being correct to the fifth decimal place. The period of the inequality cannot differ much from 4051.26 years.

The circumstances which preceded and accompanied the discovery of Neptune are known to the public. So, too, is the discussion which arose between the partisans of the two candidates, as well as the subsequent and still more remarkable discovery of Professor Peirce, that the problem, as it had presented itself to Messrs. Le Verrier and Adams, admitted of two solutions, of which these geometers, relying on "Bode's law," selected the wrong one. All this is matter of history, — we have only to do with the assertions in Herschel's book. Sir John denies the fact that the solution of Le Verrier and Adams is not the correct one, and endeavours to show that the uncertainty of the calculations was so great that Neptune may be considered as coming within Adams's theory. The course which he has taken to prove this is such, that those who assent to his views can only allow to Adams the merit of having approximately found the period of Uranus's greatest perturbation, and assumed that it was at that time in conjunction with the disturbing planet. We deliberately assert that the position which Herschel has taken would, when legitimately carried out, deprive Mr. Adams of any other claim to having made a brilliant investigation, than that to which a man would be fairly entitled, who, after computing the epochs of Uranus's greatest variation

from theory, should have inferred the position of Neptune from a graphical approximation. This planet would, if we use Herschel's diagram, (Plate A, fig. 4,) be in conjunction with Uranus at the time when, in the curve representing the residual differences between observation and computation, the great wave should cut the "medial line." On the other hand, the merit which American astronomers accord to Le Verrier and to Adams is scarcely, if at all, inferior to that which would have been attributed to these geometers had Neptune been the planet of their theory.

We take the liberty to quote a sentence from Sir John Herschel's "Results of Astronomical Observations made at the Cape of Good Hope," published in 1847. The author is speaking of a double star, ( $\gamma$  Virginis,) whose period he had formerly computed as 628.9 years, but has since concluded to be but 182.1. He shows that the observations, on which his former orbit was founded, may be represented by either of the two ; and adds, —

"This is not the first, by many instances in the history of scientific progress, where, of two possible courses, each at the moment equally plausible, the wrong has been chosen." — p. 294, §191.

Mr. Adams seems indeed to have, in Sir John Herschel, a most maladroit champion. The first assertion which the author makes, in approaching the history of the investigations which led to the discovery of Neptune, is (p. 507), "that up to the year 1804, it might have been safely asserted that positively no ground whatever existed for suspecting any disturbing influence." Neptune had, it is true, not been in conjunction with Uranus since about 1651, and the earliest observation of the latter which we possess was made in 1690 ; but, according to Mr. Adams's theory, the two planets would have been in conjunction just at the time of that observation. (See also page 517.)

Still worse is the remark, on the same page, that "the idea of setting out from the observed anomalous deviations, and employing them as data to ascertain the distance and situation of the unknown body, appears to have occurred only to two mathematicians, Mr. Adams in England, and M. Le Verrier in France, with sufficient distinctness and hopefulness of success to induce them to attempt its solution." In the London Athenæum for October 3d, 1846, will be found a

letter from Sir John Herschel to the editor, dated October 1st, the day after the news of the discovery of Neptune at Berlin had reached him. We quote from this letter :

"On the 12th July, 1842, the late illustrious astronomer Bessel honored me with a visit at my present residence. On the evening of that day, conversing on the great work of the planetary reductions, undertaken by the Astronomer Royal, — then in progress and since published, — M. Bessel remarked, that the motions of Uranus, as he had satisfied himself by careful examination of the recorded observations, could not be accounted for by the perturbations of the known planets ; and that the deviations far exceeded any possible limits of error of observation. In reply to the question, Whether the deviations in question might not be due to the action of an unknown planet, he said that he considered it highly probable that such was the case, — being systematic, and such as might be produced by an exterior planet. I then inquired whether he had attempted, from the indications afforded by these perturbations, to discover the position of the unknown body, — in order that 'a hue and cry' might be raised for it. From his reply, the words of which I do not call to mind, I collected that he had not then gone into that inquiry ; but proposed to do so, having now completed certain works which had occupied too much of his time. And, accordingly, in a letter which I received from him, after his return to Königsberg, dated November 14, 1842, he says, 'In reference to our conversation at Collingwood, I announce to you (*melde ich Ihnen*) that Uranus is not forgotten.' "

Bessel spoke of his investigations in a public lecture delivered in Königsberg, February 28th, 1840, and published in 1847 ; but an attack of severe illness, which terminated in death, prevented him from carrying out his computations.

On page 510, stress is laid upon the fact that Mr. Adams stated that the errors since 1840 might be much diminished by taking a smaller semi-axis, "and that a mean distance of 33.3 would probably satisfy all the phenomena very nearly." This hasty conclusion was obtained by an application of the "rule of three" to the discrepancies of the elements since 1840, and we doubt whether Mr. Adams will be grateful to the author for dwelling upon it. Apart from the fact, that this distinguished mathematician availed himself of more refined methods for determining the orbit, it is now known that an impassable barrier to inferences of this kind exists at the mean distance of 35.3. An exceedingly important change in the character of the perturbations takes place at

this point, — a change so great, that investigations made with regard to the region on one side cannot be extended to the other. The discordances would be increased, not diminished, by a decrease of the mean distance from 36 to 35.

Continuing the strange course, which he has hitherto pursued with regard to the claims of Messrs. Le Verrier and Adams, Herschel urges the plea, that the hypothetical elements not only place the planet, at the time of its discovery, in a *direction* extremely near that of Neptune, but also at a *distance* “very much more approximately correct, than the mean distances of the respective orbits.” This is true, Neptune having been at his aphelion nearly at the time when the theoretical planet would have been in perihelion, — the enormous eccentricity attributed to the orbit of the latter producing a great influence in decreasing the perihelion distance. But we can scarcely consider this as strong ground in favor of Herschel’s position. The two mathematicians, who solved the “inverse problem of the perturbations of Uranus,” did not profess to solve it for any particular epoch, but attempted to find the true orbit and mass of the disturbing planet; the elements, when known, would enable us to assign its direction and distance at any moment. Herschel has given a table of comparison, which extends, however, over but few years on each side of the conjunction. The following one covers more ground, extending through one revolution : —

Year.	True Longitudes of			True Distances of		
	Neptune.	Le Verrier's planet.	Adams's planet.	Neptune.	Le Verrier's planet.	Adams's planet.
1680	320.0	50.7	67.8	30.01	38.25	39.93
1700	4.4	79.2	94.5	29.84	39.63	41.30
1720	49.1	106.5	119.8	29.77	40.04	41.74
1740	93.8	134.0	145.5	29.86	39.40	41.09
1760	138.1	163.0	172.6	30.04	37.84	39.46
1780	181.8	195.1	202.7	30.22	35.68	37.15
1800	225.9	231.4	236.8	30.30	33.57	34.74
1820	268.5	270.9	275.2	30.23	32.64	33.06
1840	312.0	312.0	315.9	30.02	32.63	32.91
1860	356.4	351.0	355.0	29.87	34.26	34.37
1880	41.1	25.8	29.9	29.77	36.48	36.73

In the note to page 517, the assertion of Professor Peirce, that the coincidence in *direction* between Neptune and the planet of Le Verrier’s theory was the result of a “happy accident,” is said “to be founded on a total misconception of the nature of the problem.” If we understand the matter at all, Professor Peirce took the problem, as Le Verrier and



Adams propounded it, without making any assumption as to its nature. But this note is unworthy to be dwelt on.

The chapter closes with a statement so diametrically opposed to the truth, that we have hesitated considerably before deciding to mention it. But though it carries the evident marks of its untruth on its very face, yet these might pass unnoticed by persons not versed in astronomy. We therefore allude to it, premising that the formulas and numerical data alluded to were not computed by Mr. Walker, as the author states, but by Professor Peirce. This geometer gave the following table of comparison between the perturbations of the longitude of Uranus, which would be produced by Adams's hypothetical planet, and those which are really produced by Neptune : —

Action upon the longitude of Uranus by			Action upon the longitude of Uranus by		
Date.	Adams's planet.	Neptune.	Date.	Adams's planet.	Neptune.
1840	— 118"	— 3377"	1797	+ 163	— 1816"
1835	— 96	— 3235	1792	+ 181	— 1967
1829	— 70	— 2964	1787	+ 178	— 2210
1824	— 44	— 2684	1782	+ 150	— 2504
1819	— 13	— 2393	1769	+ 21	— 3225
1813	+ 35	— 2072	1756	— 105	— 3431
1808	+ 83	— 1881	1715	+ 191	— 1845
1803	+ 123	— 1781			

This enormous difference is met by Herschel with the greatest composure. He says, — "This is easily explained. Mr. Adams's perturbations are deviations from Bouvard's orbit of Uranus as it stood immediately previous to the late conjunction. Mr. Walker's are the deviations from a mean or undisturbed orbit, freed from the influence of the long inequality resulting from the near commensurability of the motions."

We are at a loss what to say of this extremely cool assertion, excepting that it is without the least shadow of foundation. The table has no reference to any "deviations," nor to any particular orbit of Uranus, but to the perturbative influence exerted upon Uranus by the real and by the hypothetical planet ; and the comparison, as given in the table, is perfectly legitimate.

We have consumed the space allotted us in the consideration of the first two parts, which form about three quarters of the work ; and are thus debarred from considering at present the remainder of the volume. This is entirely in keeping with the part which we have reviewed, — containing many errors and omissions.

Believing that the "Outlines of Astronomy," supported as they are by the name of Herschel, would be considered as authority, should public attention not be directed to the inaccuracies and incompleteness of the work, we have deemed it our duty to do this. Too much weight is often given, in our country, to a great foreign name; and we are well aware that criticisms upon a Herschel will not be received with favor, or even with lenity. The duty, therefore, appears to us so much the more imperative. But while endeavouring to expose the errors which pervade the volume, we have striven to speak of the distinguished author with the respect and deference to which his eminent services to science, and his world-wide reputation, entitle him. If the student be on his guard against implicit reliance upon the correctness of the book, he may unquestionably derive from it essential benefit. It is a work of ability, replete with information, and parts of it are well calculated to excite the enthusiasm of those who possess a taste for the study of Nature in her grandest phases. The errors, numerous as we have seen them to be, are ye generally the consequence rather of superficial investigation than of anything worse. The only exception which we are disposed to make is in the account of Neptune; and we can make allowances for peculiar sensitiveness in Sir John Herschel on this subject. It would perhaps be expecting more than human nature would warrant, were it otherwise. Still, the community has a right, in a didactic work, to demand a narration of facts, rather than an *ex parte* statement. This—however difficult in cases where the narrator has himself played a part—we should yet have expected from the author of the beautiful paragraph in the Introduction to the present work, in which he says that the devotee of science "must strengthen himself by something of an effort, and resolve for the unprejudiced admission of any conclusion, which shall appear to be supported by careful observation and logical argument, even should it prove of a nature adverse to notions he may have previously formed for himself, or taken up, without examination, on the credit of others. Such an effort is the first movement of approach towards that state of mental purity which alone can fit us for a full and steady perception of moral beauty, as well as physical adaptation. It is the 'euphrasy and rue' with which we must 'purge our sight,' before we can receive and contemplate, as they are, the lineaments of truth and nature."

B. A. G.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America.* By WILLIAM GAMMELL, A. M., Professor in Brown University. With Maps and an Appendix. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1849. 12mo. pp. 359.

THE sectarian epithet used in the title of this volume suggests wellnigh enough of melancholy feeling to offset the grateful impressions excited by the narratives of devotion and zeal which are given in its contents. In no point of view do the effects of sectarian disputes, and of party lines drawn among Christians, strike us more forcibly, than as showing how such unchristian divisions have completely inverted the order of Christian truths and duties, and confounded the proportions and relative importance of precepts, doctrines, and ordinances. The symbol, emblem, or form has thus, in very many cases, displaced the truth which it signified, or the lesson which it was designed to convey. The distinctive peculiarity of the Baptist denomination is a remarkable exemplification of this fact. That denomination has the very smallest and most meagre basis of any of the larger Christian sects. Were it not for the eminent excellence of many of its prominent leaders for two centuries, we should be almost tempted to think that they had been trifling with the patience of Christians, or trying an experiment to see how much stress Christendom would allow to be laid on how trifling a distinction.

As we read the New Testament, illustrated by preceding and contemporaneous annals, we find that the peculiarity of the Gospel, about this matter of *Baptism*, was not in originating the rite nor in enjoining its form or method, but in connecting with it, as an ancient and familiar rite, a new meaning, a useful and a solemn lesson,—that of repentance,—and making it the symbol of a heart renewed. Christianity, so to speak, *baptized* baptism. John the Baptist found the rite as existing from immemorial practice, and he adopted it to signify the great truth and duty which was to prepare the hearts of men for the Gospel. We read that Jesus received baptism from John in order that he might show a respectful compliance with an established sacred observance. But Jesus himself baptized no one. Paley very justly remarks, in his sermon upon “Caution recommended in the Use and Application of Scripture Language,” “baptism was only another name for conversion.” The Saviour’s parting command to

his apostles might with all fairness be rendered "*Convert men to faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*"; that is, the mere rite or symbol connected with Christian proselytism was not to obtrude itself as even sharing the importance of the truth and duty which it impressed. So we find that when the rite itself began to be exaggerated, and made a matter of party dispute, St. Paul draws the broad distinction, "Christ sent me not to *baptize*, but to preach the Gospel"; and he thanks God that during his ministry he had baptized only Crispus and Gaius, and the household of Stephanus. (1 Cor. i. 14-17.) How could St. Paul have written thus, had the mere rite of baptism been invested with such supreme importance as our Baptist brethren attach to it, when they lay such stress, not only on the rite, but on the mode of its performance, as to take from it their sectarian epithet, and make its mode the condition of Christian fellowship and the basis of their exclusive organization for the work of missions and the distribution of the Holy Scriptures? How would they answer St. Paul in this matter, if he could ask of them their reasons face to face?

Having given expression to the opinion and the feeling which one word in the title of this volume has called forth from us, we take the more pleasure in bearing witness to the pure Christian devotion and faithfulness whose efforts and spirit are here recorded. Professor Gammell has performed the task which was committed to him in a most successful manner. Without exaggeration or the help of an over-wrought fancy, he has presented a plain and most interesting sketch of the laborers in the work of Christian missions under the patronage of the Baptist denomination. Their first two missionaries, Messrs. Judson and Rice, went from this country as believers in infant baptism, and as agents of the Congregational body, through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These two pioneers adopted the views of the Baptists on their passage to India. The withdrawal of support from them by their former patrons led to their adoption by the American Baptists, and thus to the awakening of a lively concern in the work of missions in that denomination. From that beginning, Professor Gammell traces on the history of the cause. Through the perils of the ocean, of sickness and of war, and all the discomfitures attending a novel enterprise, such as international jealousies, financial embarrassments, the difficulties of acquiring foreign languages, and the disappointment of reasonable expectations on the part of some heathen objects of devoted and patient effort, — through all these trials and obstacles, we follow the steps of faithful men, supported by prayer and trust, and therefore sure of their final reward, in moderate success. The Baptists have supported missionaries in Asia, Africa, Europe, and

America, and have had the honor of sending forth some of the noblest examples of Christian heroism. Thus, too, by their efforts in behalf of the heathen, have they done much to foster true piety in their churches at home. No one can read this volume without having his spirit stirred within him by a new sense of the value of the Gospel, and by approving gratitude towards those pious and self-denying men and women, who have confronted themselves with heathenism, that they may displace its dark barbarism by the blessed religion of Jesus Christ.

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*Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea.* By W. F. LYNCH, U. S. N., Commander of the Expedition. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. A New and Corrected Edition. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1849. 8vo. pp. 508.

LIEUTENANT LYNCH seems to have first formed the design of making a careful and accurate survey of the regions around the river Jordan and the Dead Sea, in May, 1847, whilst his ship was lying before Vera Cruz, not long after the bombardment of that city by the American forces. He at once wrote to the Secretary of the Navy for permission to visit the Holy Land with that view, which was readily granted; and the store-ship Supply was placed at his disposal. Having finished the necessary arrangements, he sailed from New York in the following November, with a small but picked body of officers and men; and proceeded by way of Gibraltar and Port Mahon to Smyrna, where he left his vessel, and took a steamboat to Constantinople, in order to secure the protection and support of the Turkish government in the further prosecution of his undertaking. After some delay, he received the desired documents, and, returning to Smyrna, sailed immediately for Beirût, whence he directed his course over land to his point of destination, arriving at the Sea of Galilee early in April. He then traced the channel of the Jordan through its entire length, and over a succession of rapids, till it empties into the Dead Sea, which he entered about the middle of the month. During the three weeks in which he remained on the shores of this mysterious lake, he examined every part of the surrounding country, and carefully noted the variations of the thermometer and barometer. At length he started on his return, and after visiting Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Damascus, reached Beirût towards the end of June. And here, just as the expedition had completed its design, and was on the point of embarking for home, it had the misfortune to lose one of its most efficient members, — the late Lieutenant John B. Dale, of this city. To this amiable and accomplished officer much of the success which at-

tended the expedition is owing ; and the publication of the present narrative is due to his suggestion, while most of the engravings with which it is embellished are from sketches taken by him. He arrived at Beirût in a state of great physical debility ; and after lingering for several weeks in a precarious condition, he died on the twenty-fourth of July, 1848. Although far from home, in a small and poor village, and in the midst of strangers, he was yet among friends, who watched over him with a tender and unceasing care. Private letters from them, which are now before us, show how greatly he had become endeared to them, and how truly they sympathized with those whose names were constantly on his lips in his dying hours. His memory will ever be fondly cherished by those who had the pleasure of knowing him. After his death, the expedition embarked for Malta, and arrived in this country early in December, after an absence of little more than a year.

The scientific results of this expedition possess great value, but how great can only be determined on the publication of the official report, in which the different measurements, and the thermometrical and barometrical observations will be stated with greater fulness and minuteness than would be desirable in a work like the present, chiefly designed for the general reader. The depression of the regions visited below the level of the Mediterranean Sea was accurately ascertained ; the various atmospheric changes were recorded ; the depth and density of the water in different parts of the Dead Sea were determined ; valuable maps were drawn ; and considerable information obtained in relation to the geological structure of the country. Still we experience a feeling of disappointment in contemplating its results, as narrated by Lieutenant Lynch himself, with his very natural and obvious desire to magnify its importance. In all that relates to his profession, he exhibited talent, experience, and good judgment in a high degree ; but, as he frankly admits in his Preface, he is " wholly unskilled in author-craft." While we gladly do honor to his generosity, his self-sacrifice, and his noble devotion to the cause of science, we cannot but regret that the literary execution of his work should be so unworthy of the head of a national expedition. Our author's style, though often inelegant and sometimes ungrammatical, is throughout ambitious and high-sounding. It is, however, in general, sufficiently clear, and at times has the precision of a log-book. His reflections and generalizations are almost invariably feeble and commonplace. The volume abounds with passages in the sophomoric style. His allusions to previous travellers are often unjust and captious ; nor are his own views beyond controversy. His attempts at Biblical criticism, in particular, are frequently of doubtful value, to say

the least ; and in his spelling of Turkish and Arabic names, he seems to have adopted no fixed standard. In many instances, his mode of spelling differs widely from the true orthography.

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*The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN, Author of "Modern Painters." With Illustrations, drawn and etched by the Author. New York: John Wiley, 161 Broadway. 1849. 12mo. pp. 186.

THE "Modern Painters" interested all, we believe, though it gave offence to many, and whatever may have been the value of some of its criticisms, that the author displayed excellent gifts could hardly be denied. The present work of Mr. Ruskin is so often in conflict with what is called "the spirit of the age," that he will not be surprised by the expression, in many quarters, of dissent from many of his conclusions. But in his clear statements and beautiful illustrations of the great principles of his favorite art, he will find, as one so earnest should, wide and deep sympathy. *Architecture*, as herein defined, is more than *Building*. It is the art which impresses upon a building a beautiful or venerable character, for a moral or intellectual purpose. It must have its great spiritual laws, more enduring than its most lasting monuments, unchanging as the wisdom of God and the nature of man. These laws are, "the Lamps of Architecture," "the Lamps of Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience." A structure must be reared at real cost, in sincerity, in strength, in beauty, and by one who lives in his work ; it is most noble when it is most enduring and historical, and when individual fancies are all loyally subordinated to an authorized style. That this statement of principles is exhaustive is not claimed, but it answers well all practical purposes.

The author earnestly pleads for costly temples, and putting the matter, with him, as between private extravagance and public munificence for spiritual purposes, we heartily assent to his conclusions, though we cannot feel the force of the argument from Scripture, upon which he so confidently relies. We should love to worship in temples where magnificence is not an intolerable burden upon the poor, a virtual exclusion of all persons of moderate means from the sacred walls. We would have the gifted artist employed upon the houses of God, before even the sanctuary of home, the hallowed enclosure of the hearth-stone, has been made beautiful and venerable by his skilful hands. Illumined by the lamp of Truth, we shall all at length see, with Mr. Ruskin, how poor a thing it is to "suffer the wall-decorator to erect about the altar frameworks and pediments daubed with

mottled color, and to dye in the same fashions such skeletons or caricatures of columns as may emerge above the pews," that "nobody wants ornaments in this world, but everybody wants integrity," and that it is better to "leave our walls as bare as a planed board, or to build them of baked mud and chopped straw, if need be, "than to rough-cast them with falsehood."

The author evidently does not enjoy railroad travelling, and whilst *en route*, is too nervous to think any ornament upon a station-house appropriate. The "Lamp of Beauty" must needs go out as the iron monster rushes by, and no one with his eye upon his luggage can stop to admire a Battlement or a Sphinx. In good time, Quiet and Beauty will come even here; but, for the present, so long as the terrible Locomotive crosses our country roads, upon the same level at every turn, and trains almost meet upon the same track every hour, taxing to the utmost the ingenuity of the most skilful superintendents,—so long as we must sell for fifty dollars to-day what cost a hundred dollars yesterday,—let us by all means strive for safety and cash payments, as the two things needful. We should like to go with Mr. Ruskin through many a street, and, "pulling down brackets, and friezes, and large names, restore to tradesmen the capital they had spent in architecture, and put them on honest and equal terms:—each with his name in block letters over the door, not skirted down the streets from the upper stories, and each with a plain wooden shop casement, with small panes in it, that people would not think of breaking in in order to be sent to prison." And most heartily do we assent to his plea under "the Lamp of Memory" for substantial dwelling-houses, dwellings for father, son, and grandson, to which a regard for ancestry and all home associations shall bind men in sweet contentment, when pride and luxury would counsel the destruction of the old, and the rearing of a new, dwelling.

There are many other interesting points to which we should love to call attention, but thus much must suffice. Even those who will not be able or disposed to study this work, in all its details, will find the shining of the sevenfold Lamp very cheerful and profitable, and sure we are that we need all its light to guide us in this dark time of architectural attempts, and, it must be added, of architectural failures.

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*Ten Discourses on Orthodoxy.* By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Washington. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. pp. 227.

Of these ten very able Discourses, the first describes the Orthodox theory of Christianity, as held in substance, though  
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with various modifications, by the churches called Evangelical. The second takes a general survey of that system, and states the objections to which it is liable, considered as a whole. The third, singling out the doctrine of the Trinity, traces its history, examines the arguments drawn from the sacred writings and other sources for its support, and asserts, in conclusion, that it never has been and never can be established as a truth. The fourth concerns itself with the proposition that Christ is God,—showing, first, that it rests on the wrong interpretation of a few passages of Scripture, while it is opposed by the general sense and spirit of the Bible,—and next, that, in all the modes in which it has been stated, it is and must be, as a religious doctrine, not only useless, but harmful. The fifth takes up the theory of vicarious atonement, and, having noticed the various forms in which it has been held, argues against its truth, from the insufficiency of the evidence brought to sustain it, and from the contradictory and impossible nature of the ideas which it involves. The sixth combats the dogma of man's native and total depravity, indicating the way in which it must have had its rise, directing attention to its monstrous character and frightful significance, demonstrating its lack of satisfactory proof both in the Divine word and in human experience, and describing the evil consequences, intellectual and moral, which result from it. The seventh, while it expounds and vindicates the doctrine of a righteous retribution in the future world, deducible from Scripture and acceptable to reason, urges objections to the Calvinistic view of endless and hopeless punishment for sins committed in this life, which, to reflecting minds, one would think must seem insuperable. The eighth discusses the character and claims of the Bible, exposing the falsity and bad tendency of the doctrine of plenary inspiration and verbal infallibility, at the same time that it explains and advocates what the writer regards as the true value and use of the sacred Scriptures. The ninth is occupied with the history and position of Orthodoxy, or with the elements and processes of its past development, and with the circumstances of its present condition, which indicate that it will soon be outgrown and superseded. The tenth is devoted to Liberal Christianity, stating what, in the author's view, its characteristic principles are, and what is the consummation to which they are leading, viz., "a system of religious faith beyond all comparison the most rich, complete, broad, lofty, and inspiring, that the world has ever seen."

In saying, as we have done, that these discourses are very able, we expressed only in part our opinion of their merits. They are composed in the author's best style, which, while it sometimes lacks precision and clearness, is always elevated, engaging, and impressive. They are distinguished by an inde-

pendence, freedom, and freshness of thought, and by a peculiar mode of approaching and treating subjects, which invest old themes with the interest and attractiveness of new ones. They give proof, on every page, of an honest, as well as of a vigorous and acute intellect; and the candid, fair, and kind spirit, which pervades them throughout, seems to us admirable, considering the writer's ecclesiastical position and the nature of the topics he was called upon to discuss. Mr. Allen professes to have spoken only in his own name, affirming that he has said nothing as the representative of a sect; yet we are gratified to find the views he has expressed to be, with perhaps two or three exceptions, the same that are entertained by Unitarians generally. As regards the question, What and where is the ultimate and decisive test of Christian truth? the majority of them will probably dissent from the opinion implied, if not declared, in some parts of the volume before us; and comparatively few, we think, would be pleased with the author's definition of *Liberal Christianity*, were it not for the assertion in his Preface, that he considers the present account as "a preparatory rather than a final statement of the Christian spiritual doctrine."

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*Scripture Illustrated from Recent Discoveries in the Geography of Palestine; with a Map.* 1849. 8vo. pp. 32.

*Scripture Vindicated against some Perversions of Rationalism. With a Sketch of the Lake of Galilee.* (Both) by the Author of "The People's Dictionary of the Bible." London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1849. 8vo. pp. 48.

THESE two pamphlets are from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Beard, of Manchester, to whom the cause of Liberal Christianity is greatly indebted for many valuable works intended to secure the records of our faith from the artful violence of the Rationalist, and from the corruptions of a Calvinistic theology. His studies in Germany, his familiarity with the literature of that country, and his correspondence with some of its scholars, abundantly qualify him for an extensive editorial task, which he has recently undertaken. Under the title of "The Library of Christian Literature," he proposes to issue a series of publications, historical, religious, theological, and exegetical, designed to present the facts which attended the origin of the Christian faith, which illustrate its early annals and progress, and which exhibit its physical, historical, moral, social, and spiritual relations. The works are to be either original or translated. Of this plan we have the first fruits in these two pamphlets. They are both of them written in view of the most recent investigations into the

geography and natural history of Palestine, and show an amount of pains-taking, research, and study, and of critical skill, which could not fail of helping towards some marked result, either to invalidate or to confirm the Scripture history, and which we may rejoice to find admitting of so good a use as they subserve in these pages. Notwithstanding the faithful and scholarlike endeavours of Dr. Robinson to insure perfect accuracy in his statements, even he is proved at times to have erred. Dr. Beard presents with great beauty and force of language the local position of Palestine, its historical, moral, and religious relations to the civilization of the old world, of which it was the centre, and those facts in the configuration and products of the country, all of which offer numerous exact and minute coincidences in verification of the Bible narratives. He uses the compass, the barometer, and the theodolite, and we might almost say the microscope, to test the accuracy of the Biblical writers, and to trace out the unchanging features of that Land which was *Holy* while the gods of Greece were still slumbering unhewn in the marble quarries. The former of the pamphlets has peculiar reference to the Old Testament. The second contains a bold and keen rebuke of the quibbles and perversions of the Rationalistic writers, and traces out with remarkable ingenuity the incidental allusions which connect some of the miraculous narratives in the New Testament with facts relating to the Lake of Galilee, where the record describes the events as having occurred. We have been greatly interested in the purpose and plan of Dr. Beard's Library since we first saw his announcement, and we cannot but hope that he will be fully encouraged in it.

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*The Bucolics, Georgics, and Æneid of Virgil: with English Notes, a Life of Virgil, and Remarks upon Scanning.* By EDWARD MOORE, M. A. Boston: B. B. Mussey & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 551.

NOTHING but actual practice in the work of teaching pupils can qualify any one to pronounce upon the relative merits of the numerous school editions of classic authors which are constantly issuing from the press in our Northern States. The text of the most familiar authors may be considered as settled, at least so far as not to require new editions of them for our schools and colleges. The range which is left open to editors, therefore, is confined to the extent and character of their illustrative Notes. The medium to be observed here lies between two obvious extremes. The pupil should be relieved of such difficulties in the allusions or construction of the text as would consume his time,

or require a larger apparatus than is at his disposal, should he undertake to solve them for himself; while, on the other hand, his author should not be interpreted and explained to him in any particular in which the grammar, the lexicon, and the classical dictionary afford him sufficient means for informing himself. Dr. Anthon's Virgil is too cumbersome and diffuse in its apparatus. Mr. Bowen's preserves the right medium, as far as we can pronounce an opinion, without having the qualification above named. The elegant volume before us seems to us to be just such a one as we should be glad to study for ourselves, if we were now beginning to acquaint ourselves with the Mantuan bard.

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*The Elements of Reading and Oratory.* By HENRY MANDEVILLE, D. D., Professor of Moral Science and Belles-Lettres in Hamilton College. A New Revised Edition. New York: Appleton & Co. 1849. 12mo.

READING and Oratory have their rules, and yet it is very difficult to state them in an intelligent way. A book upon them has always seemed to us to resemble a volume on military tactics, especially when the lessons on the former subject are illustrated by diagrams explaining the *pitch*, the *rise*, the *fall*, the *circumflex*, the *bends*, *sweeps*, *slides*, and *closes*. We doubt whether it is possible to teach Reading and Oratory by a book, and without the help of a living voice. Our recent works on these subjects are sure, however, to have a value, as they embrace so many choice passages from the best authors. The volume before us contains the results of the author's teachings, and has evidently been prepared with much care and faithfulness, with a just appreciation of the importance of his theme, and an intelligible statement of the means by which art may help nature. It will be found to convey most useful lessons upon Pronunciation, Punctuation, Modulation of the Voice, and Emphasis, and to include striking examples of its own rules in its illustrative extracts.

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*Select Comedies; Translated from the Italian of Goldoni, Giraud, and Nola.* New York: Appleton & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 306.

THAT everything suffers by *translation* except a bishop, is a true saying, and that form of literature which suffers most is the comic or humorous. Happy turns of thought, rather than what we call wit, are said to distinguish Italian comedies. The trans-

lator of the contents of this volume conceals his name. A brief introduction on the Italian comic drama, and biographical and critical sketches of the three authors, from each of whom he has given us two plays, add to the value of the book to an English reader.

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*Class Book of Zoölogy: Designed to afford to Pupils in Common Schools and Academies a Knowledge of the Animal Kingdom: With a List of the Different Species found in the State of New York. The Whole Scientifically and Systematically Arranged.* By Professor B. JAEGER. New York: Appleton & Co. 1849. 16mo. pp. 180.

THE large sciences which relate to Animals, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Insects, and that heterogeneous class of creatures to which belong Corals, Shell-fish, and Worms, are all compressed into this little volume, which is also richly illustrated. Under a simple and natural classification of its subjects, short sentences of descriptive details, and of historical and local information, are given in a way to interest a pupil, and these are followed by questions which are founded on them, and which the pupil who has carefully read what precedes will be able and pleased to answer.

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*A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War.* By WILLIAM JAY. Boston: B. B. Mussey & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 333.

JUDGE JAY has here given a very thorough and able history of the causes and consequences of our recent unhappy strife with a neighbouring republic. He has treated his sad theme as might have been expected of so earnest a man. Dark as this chapter in our history is, it needed to be so written, by a judicious, generous, earnest, and free soul. We thank him for his labor of love, and cannot but mourn that those who need this discussion will not enter upon it, and that those who will, do not need it. The length will deter some, the freshness of the incidents will prevent others, from rehearsing the familiar tale, and more still have already made up their minds for or against the whole affair, and do not care to "review" the grounds of their conviction.

We may be permitted to add that it was written for the prize offered by the American Peace Society, was received very favorably by the judges, and is now published by the author himself under their sanction. The essay which obtained the prize was by Rev. A. A. Livermore, and will, we trust, soon appear from the press, now that its author has returned from the South.

*Last Leaves of American History: Comprising Histories of the Mexican War and California.* By EMMA WILLARD. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 12mo. pp. 230.

It would require a much larger and more elaborate volume than this to do justice to its themes. The authoress aims at impartiality. She begins with the election of President Harrison, and ends with the rush to the Gold Mines, and includes a record of dates, facts, and incidents in which there was little chance for showing any bias or opinion of her own. She is, at least, a lenient, if not an unfair narrator of the conduct and course of our government in the Mexican War, though she joins with many patriots and Christians of our day in hoping that henceforward a Council of Peace, rather than an appeal to arms, may decide international disputes.

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*European Life and Manners, in Familiar Letters to Friends.* By HENRY COLMAN, Author of "European Agriculture," &c. 2 vols. Boston: Little & Brown. 1849. 12mo. pp. 360, 392.

THESE volumes are no fair subjects of criticism, as their publication was not had in view when their contents were written. They prove that Mr. Colman had what is called "a good time" abroad. The Letters are filled with spirited delineations of household and social life in Europe; they dwell with admiring appreciation upon the gatherings of luxury and elegance by which the favored classes seek to make life a perfect romance of enjoyment, though they by no means leave unmentioned the degradation and misery of other classes. Mr. Colman's volumes are full of information and of details of a character to interest a large number of readers.

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*Visits to Monasteries in the Levant.* By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 12mo. pp. 390.

*Adventures in the Libyan Desert, and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon.* By BAYLE ST. JOHN. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 12mo. pp. 244.

MR. PUTNAM uniformly makes a judicious selection from foreign publications in his reprints, and does his readers the favor of giving them the best materials in type and paper. These two

new volumes on the East treat of fresh themes, not yet hackneyed by tourists. Mr. Curzon has given us most valuable historical and literary information, with lively sketches and anecdotes from scenes which are invested with the mystery and the romance of the past, and which present many matters of intelligent curiosity. Mr. St. John is a graceful writer, and makes the most of incidents in his wanderings over a region which will never cease to address human sentiments with grave appeals and reminiscences.

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*The Four Gospels, translated from the Latin Vulgate, and diligently compared with the original Greek text, being a revision of the Rhemish translation, with Notes, critical and explanatory.* By FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bishop of Philadelphia. New York. Edward Dunigan & Brother, 151 Fulton Street. 1849. pp. 572.

THE appearance of a volume like the present will no doubt surprise many of our readers. A revised translation of the Gospels, by a Roman Catholic bishop, was altogether unexpected. Within a short time, numerous editions of the Douay Bible have been published in this country in various forms, some with very beautiful engravings from ancient pictures by the best masters, and issued in numbers at a price which enables almost any one who desires it, to possess a copy. Nor is the interest confined to our own country. A Roman Catholic bishop, not long since, boasted, that he had been instrumental in the publication and circulation of a greater number of Bibles in Ireland than any other clergyman, Protestant or Catholic.

These things indicate an interest in the sacred Scriptures, which it is generally, and probably justly supposed, has not heretofore existed in the Catholic Church, and a willingness or necessity which that church has felt to comply with the demands of the times. We welcome, therefore, this volume, not only as a valuable acquisition to the Biblical literature of the country, but still more, as one of the auspicious signs of the times.

We cannot but notice the candor and affection, with which the author alludes to his having occasionally availed himself "of the researches of modern writers, *unhappily estranged from Catholic communion.*"

We shall not at this time attempt any criticism on the character of the work, but commend it to the consideration of all biblical students.

*Speeches, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings on Subjects connected with Temperance and the Liquor Traffic.* By CHARLES JEWETT, M. D. Boston : J. P. Jewett. 1849. 12mo. pp. 200.

DR. JEWETT has been known for years throughout this State, and largely in New England, as one of the most efficient, good-tempered, genial, and untiring agents in the cause of Temperance. He has been the guest of many households, and has spoken in church, school-house, hall, grove, and by the roadside. Those who have heard him with delight will be glad to possess this volume, which is graced with an excellent likeness of him. The volume contains seven of his speeches, some lively poems, and several excellent contributions of his to the newspapers.

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*The Beauties of Channing.* With an Essay prefixed. By WILLIAM MOUNTFORD. London : J. Chapman. 1849. 16mo. pp. 251.

THE Author of *Martyria* might be better trusted than most men to make one of those uncertain volumes called the "Beauties" of any well-known and favorite writer. A work which would be beyond measure distasteful and conceited in a writer who should himself cull out passages from his own books and give them that title, may yet be performed by another. Mr. Mountford has exercised good taste in his selection, and has not made it at the expense of sense or completeness of sentiment. His own Essay is not the least valuable portion of his volume.

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REV. MR. WEISS, of New Bedford, in a sermon upon Capital Punishment, (8vo, pp. 16,) Luke x., 36, 37, maintains that we should generalize upon the Gospel duty of mercy so as to extend its relief and pity and forgiveness to all social crimes, with the same sympathy with which individuals exercise it in private life toward the unfortunate and the erring, and that by this rule we are bound to allow the murderer to live, and to reform him.

The Fifteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches (8vo, pp. 66) presents the operations and results of that Christian combination for charitable purposes in a more interesting and impressive form than does or did any previous Report. The narratives and statistics which were given at the Annual Meeting, and the accounts which Rev. Dr. Bigelow and Rev. Messrs. Cruft and Winckley here render of their visits and labors, and of the calls upon their time



and sympathies, are of intense interest. They are free from exaggeration, and make strong appeals to every Christian heart.

Rev. Mr. Clark, of Trinity Church, Boston, in his Discourse before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, on their CCXlth Anniversary, (8vo, pp. 22.) treats of the "Relations of the Past to the Present," in an instructive, though a very general way, and thus avoids the theme which that time-honored anniversary almost thrusts upon the successive ministers who are invited to preach upon it, at this era, when the cause of Peace is so ably advocated, and the question of a Congress of Nations is so earnestly debated.

Mr. W. W. Greenough entitles his Oration before the Municipal Authorities of Boston on July 4, 1849, (8vo, pp. 40,) "The Conquering Republic"; but in applying that title to our republic, he claims for us a victory partly won, and still to be won, by force of the great ideas which are the basis of its constitution. He traces the effects of our Revolution upon the governments of the old world, considers our position at home and our foreign relations, and then enforces our duties under our light and obligations. The Oration is free from that bombast and fustian which are found in most addresses on like occasions. Its style is good, and its sentiments are humane and just.

Mr. W. S. Barton, of Worcester, has published "Epitaphs from the Cemetery on Worcester Common, with occasional Notes, References, and an Index." (8vo, pp. 36.) None of these inscriptions are old enough or quaint enough to have the interest of antiquity; but they may be of use to the many patient investigators of genealogical matters, who seem to be becoming somewhat numerous among us.

Rev. Professor Post, of St. Louis, delivered a "Discourse" in that city on December 24, 1848, "in Commemoration of the Pilgrim Fathers." (8vo, pp. 48.) If the theme could always be treated with the good judgment, the discrimination, and the knowledge of history which this speaker brought to it, it would not be subject to the ridicule and slights which have recently attached to it. This Discourse, with occasional slips in taste, is an admirable historical and philosophical summary of those matters which it would naturally embrace.

Rev. Mr. Stebbins, of the Meadville Theological School, has published, by request of the First Congregational Society in Leominster, of which he was formerly pastor, a discourse which he delivered on a transient visit to that scene of his ministry, on July 22, 1849. (8vo, pp. 20.) The house of worship, which is to be remodelled, was used on that day for the last time. The occasion was exactly twelve years from the day on which he preached there his first discourse as a candidate. Here was sug-

gestive material enough for a tender address, and for the renewed enforcement of Christian counsel, which Mr. Stebbins most happily and devoutly improves. His passing tribute to his immediate successor, the late Hiram Withington, is affecting, though we cannot approve the sentence in which Mr. Stebbins, in contrasting his own rougher methods with the gentle way of that successor, compares himself and Mr. Withington, respectively, to John the Baptist and the Saviour.

Messrs. C. S. Francis & Co., of New York, are publishing in numbers, each containing four plates, with Scriptural Extracts, "Franklin's Bible Cartoons, for the School and the Family." Two numbers have been issued, and, we should think, are well suited to their purpose of interesting and impressing the young. The cheapness at which they are furnished — each plate costing but three cents — will put them within the reach of all. We have, thus far, illustrations of scenes in the life of Abraham and the life of Joseph, and the engravings are skilfully made. A rich field is before the artist.

Mr. Bartlett, of Cambridge, has published, in handsome form, (8vo, pp. 60,) "Addresses at the Inauguration of Jared Sparks, LL.D., as President of Harvard College." The pamphlet contains a Prefatory Note, which gives a sketch of the proceedings of the Inauguration day and its festivities; the Latin and English Poems which were sung; the Address of Induction by Gov. Briggs, with the President's Reply; the Latin Oration by Charles Francis Choate, of the class just graduated; and the Inaugural Address of Dr. Sparks. This last document contains a concise historical sketch of collegiate education among us; of its distinctive features; of the method under which it is at present pursued, and the speaker's views of certain processes and incidental features, concerning which there is a difference of opinion.

"The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution for the Blind," (Metcalf and Co., 8vo, pp. 56,) is an unusually interesting document. We always look for something from this quarter annually which shall instruct and deeply move us, and it is surprising how inexhaustible in interest is the theme of this charity. We do not find any thing in the Report this year on Laura Bridgman, whose name and history are so familiar now in both hemispheres. The pages are filled with information concerning the Blind, their misfortunes, claims, and improvement, and a particular attention is called to the better provision of workshops and occupation, and to the separation of the sexes.

# INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Cambridge Divinity School.*—The Annual Discourse before the Graduating Class of this Institution was delivered on Sunday evening, July 15, by Rev. F. H. Hedge, of Bangor, Me. His subject was, "The State and Wants of the Unitarian Churches." Any observing judge in our community, who should read only the titles and subjects of the numerous annual addresses which are delivered before the various societies gathered in our religious body, could not fail to remark, that in each period of one, two, or three years, as the case may be, the length of the period depending upon the relative importance and interests of each successive theme, some one subject of temporary prominence is treated by all our chosen speakers, according to their peculiar views of it. It is thus, and thus only, that, by the action of many independent minds, exaggerations and disproportionate views find adjustment. The circle of truth is completed when those who are standing at the extremities of its radii, and looking towards a common centre, are numerous enough and friendly enough to join hands together. Mr. Hedge contributed his full proportion of earnest and genial help towards defining the relation between theology and practical religion.

The Thirty-Third Annual Visitation of the Divinity School took place in the Chapel of the University, on Monday, July 16. President Sparks occupied the desk. The exercises were opened and closed with prayers by Professors Francis and Noyes, and three original hymns, written by members of the School, were sung at intervals.

The Class, which at the beginning of the last academical year consisted of ten members, had lost one of them. Two others had been obliged to leave, just before the close of the term, in pursuit of health;—Mr. E. P. Bond of Boston, the subject of whose essay would have been "The Promise of the Paraclete, John xvi. 7," having gone to the Pacific, after ordination, as an evangelist, as stated in our last number; and Mr. W. H. Hurlburt, whose theme would have been "Logic and Induction as Sources of Religious Faith," having recently sailed for Europe, to study in Germany. The other members of the graduating class read dissertations on the following subject, connected with their names:—"The Causes of the Loss of Christian Faith at the Present Day," by Mr. Fiske Barrett, a graduate of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.; "The Character of the Intimations of a Future Life in the Old Testament," by Mr. W. F. Bridge, a graduate of Harvard College; "The Ethics of Christianity as compared with those of the Grecian Philosophy," by Mr. G. A. Carnes, a graduate of the University of New York; "William Penn," by Mr. R. P. Rogers; "The Visible and Invisible Church," by Mr. Davis Smith, a graduate of Harvard College; "Literature as a Qualification for the Ministry," by Mr. J. A. Swan, a graduate of Harvard College; "Christian Fellowship," by Mr. Augustus Woodbury.

After the exercises, the ministers, candidates for the ministry, the members of this and of other theological schools, official visitors and other invited guests, partook of a dinner in Harvard Hall.

The annual meeting of the Alumni of the School was held, after dinner, in the Chapel. The following gentlemen were chosen as the officers of the association for the coming year :— Rev. Professor George R. Noyes, D. D., *President* ; Rev. Ralph Sanger, *Vice-President* ; Rev. John F. W. Ware, *Secretary* ; Rev. George G. Ingersoll, D. D., Rev. William Newell, and Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey, *Committee of Arrangements*. The Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D., of Boston, and the Rev. Samuel Gilman, D. D., of Charleston, S. C., who had been chosen first and second preachers, having both recently notified the committee that they should not be able to officiate, the Rev. Edward B. Hall, D. D., of Providence, R. I., had been invited, and had consented to deliver the Annual Address this year. The association proceeded to choose first and second preachers for the next year, and elected Rev. Ezra S. Gannet, D. D., of Boston, and Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of Fitchburg. A discussion on the condition and wants of the School was commenced before the Address, and resumed afterwards. Dr. Hall's Address will be found in our preceding pages.

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*The Fast on Account of the Cholera.* — A private document of a few lines from the City of Washington, signed "Z. Taylor," and entitled "A Recommendation to the People of the United States," had the effect of calling together larger or smaller congregations in the churches of this Union, on the third day of August, for the purpose of taking a religious view of the cholera. That scourge has been very fatal in its visitations in some portions of our Union, and has been dreaded everywhere. If a collection could be made of all the sermons preached in this country on that day, it would afford a singular exhibition of the wide variety of opinions and religious views which so remarkably distinguishes this land of all sorts of creeds and consciences. The idea which lies at the basis of the custom by which a "Fast Day" is appointed on account of a prevailing epidemic, is, that such a melancholy occasion manifests "an especial providence of God." Once the faith in these special interventions of God, for purposes of public chastisement, embraced many calamities and many portents, as belonging to that dreaded method of Divine discipline. Eclipses, comets, meteors, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, the visits of locusts, palmer-worms, and caterpillars, droughts, famines and tempests, wars and pestilences, have served as occasions to excite religious feeling, and to exercise it in humiliation and propitiatory rites, for the sake of appeasing the anger of God. The line of history might be traced down through successive ages to show how truer views of the laws of nature, the progress of science, and more just interpretations of the Divine attributes and agency have stricken, from that list of vengeful terrors, one after another of those formidable omens and calamities. The highest religious philosophy teaches us that there are no special providences, because there is a general and a universal providence. Even the revelation of God by Jesus Christ, as a seemingly peculiar and special manifestation of God's wisdom and love, becomes all the more easy of faith when the plan which appeared to find its fulfilment in one year of time is traced through all previous ages of Jewish and patriarchal preparation, is made the one great providential design for humanity "before the foundation of the world," and is not to find its full triumph till 'all are gathered

into Jesus Christ long centuries hence. If the sparrow is supported in its flight and guided to its own nest, and if the hairs of our heads are all numbered, what more special providence could we look for than this universal watchfulness and control exercised by a good Being through all his infinite realm? The belief in special providences is evidently borrowed and retained from an old philosophy, and is an accommodation of the Divine nature and government to human conceptions. We do some parts of our work more carefully and earnestly than we do other parts of it; we vary the mood of our minds; we exhibit in turn anger and love. These traits of humanity men transferred to God when they conceived of him as "altogether such a one as themselves." They thought that he was more distinctly and visibly revealed here and there than elsewhere; that he threw more of his agency into one event than another; that he smiled or frowned as men gave him occasion; that the gentle breeze, and the healthful air, and the bright sun, and the constant heavens, indicated his love, while the cloud, the storm, the meteor, the eclipse, the blight, the pestilence, were tokens of his wrath. Men have not only presumed thus to infer in a calamity that God was temporarily displeased, but they have also ventured to indicate the particular sin, local, national, or general, against which his indignation was aimed. The list of these so-called special providences has been greatly diminished, as we have said, by higher views of religion and the progress of science; and now the old faith; which we cannot but call a superstition, concentrates itself on a pestilence, as the last remaining calamity which we interpret as a token of the Divine displeasure.

We should infer, from the accounts which we have seen in the newspapers from various parts of the country, that the third of August was observed with more of seriousness, religious feeling, and respectful regard, than we had previously supposed that it would receive. So far as this fact indicates the general prevalence and the amount of true religious belief and sentiment, we are gratified. But we should not make the manner in which such a day was observed or slighted the test of the religion of a country. Doubtless thousands paid the day no regard, not because of their indifference to religion, but because the occasion, and the popular view of it, did not engage their own convictions, — did not appeal to any sincere sentiment in their own hearts concerning the Divine dealings. They did not see in the cholera any special manifestation of God's anger, because it is but one of the many agencies of death, the common lot, and not so destructive an agency among us as is the scarlet-fever and consumption annually. They did not see in the cholera a plague sent to chastise us on account of our last war, or for the sin of slavery; because the cholera has traversed the earth, and devastated all nations. Nor did they see in the cholera a peculiar visitation against intemperance and vice and wretched poverty in cities; because those evils are marked by a daily and a constant warning and rebuke, and are indeed rather aggravated than diminished by the inroads of pestilence. There are many persons now in Christendom, and their number is increasing, who cannot believe in a vengeful God, nor in any providence but a general providence. They must refer everything to God, or nothing. They must regard the death of a thousand by disease, as they would regard the death of one; nor can they look upon a new distemper, which perhaps may take the place of an old and obsolete one, as a new method attempted by the Almighty to bring men to repentance.

There is no objection to interpreting the cholera as a judgment of God against sin, provided that this one calamity or trial is not singled out, emphasized, and made to bear the whole stress of that righteous government, which has so many other indications and warnings. These last are always forgotten when any one calamity is represented as of peculiar significance in indicating God's displeasure at wickedness. Every offence and disobedience receives its just recompense of reward. We are most likely to interpret God's providence aright in single instances, when we are watchful of its general lessons. We see his hand most distinctly in some things, when we search for it in everything. He is not like Baal, at times on a journey, at times sleeping; but verily he is a God that judgeth in the whole earth.

We apprehend that the Presidential Fast Day was most religiously used in those congregations where the pulpits, after giving due utterance to those solemn counsels which our mortal state, our exposure, and our sinfulness make always timely, and, on some occasions, peculiarly impressive, passed on to inculcate the homely duties of cleanliness, caution, a cheerful courage, and a helpful sympathy for the suffering.

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*The Visit of Father Mathew.* — The Rev. Theobald Mathew, an Irish Roman Catholic Priest, and honorably known throughout Christendom for his devoted zeal and his eminently successful labors in the cause of Temperance among his countrymen, is now pursuing his beneficent work in our towns and cities. His visit is made to wear a peculiar aspect, and were it not for his own single-hearted constancy to one purpose, would be turned aside from the object of his mission, through force of the adulation and enthusiasm which attend him. Thus far, his course here has been as through a perfect pageant. The civic authorities have received him with processions, and garlands, and banquets, and speeches. All sects and parties have united to do him honor. Even the veteran Dr. Beecher, than whom the Pope of Rome has not a colder friend, certainly on this continent, has grasped Father Mathew by the hand on a public platform, and hailed him as a brother, in at least one Christian work. The enthusiasm which our Irish residents exhibit towards their venerated friend and benefactor, is wellnigh surpassed by the cordial and earnest efforts of our own Protestant people to do him honor. We sincerely hope that there may be no violent reaction or revulsion of feeling. We are obliged to confess that in some former similar cases, — though no one exactly like this has ever presented itself, — enthusiasm, applause, and public honors have exceeded the bounds of due reason towards distinguished foreign visitors, and have been followed by fault-finding, coldness, and even defamation. Let no such reaction be the penalty which Father Mathew shall be called to meet by and by.

He has thus far made a most favorable impression, founded on a conviction of his high services, and on his modest deportment. His countenance bears a mingled expression of dignity and benevolence; he is most affable and unassuming in speech, and endures very patiently some things which he doubtless might wish to avoid. But one public slight has as yet been cast upon him. Seven years since, he signed with Daniel O'Connell, and seventy thousand other Irishmen, an address to their countrymen in the United States, urging them to an uncompromising hostility against the institution of slavery, as it exists here. Pro-

ceeding upon this fact, a committee of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society addressed an invitation to Father Mathew, as they did to some other distinguished men, to attend a celebration of the British Act of Emancipation in the West Indies, to be held at Worcester on the third day of August. To insure the reception of the invitation, and to leave no room for doubt in the matter, Mr. W. L. Garrison and Dr. H. L. Bowditch waited upon Father Mathew at his lodgings in Boston a week previous to the celebration. Mr. Garrison gives his account of the interview in "The Liberator" for August 10. He says, that, after the usual compliments, he delivered the letter of invitation, with a verbal statement of its contents; that Father Mathew received it "with some agitation and embarrassment of manner, and said, gesticulating in a somewhat deprecative manner, as though an indecent or unworthy proposition had been made to him, 'I have as much as I can do to save men from the slavery of intemperance, without attempting the overthrow of any other kind of slavery. Besides, it would not be proper for me to commit myself on a question like this, under present circumstances. I am a Catholic Priest; but being here to promote the cause of temperance, I should not be justified in turning aside from my mission, for the purpose of subserving the cause of Catholicism.' [Mr. Brownson says one should say *Catholicity*.] It was in vain that Father Mathew was reminded that *humanity* was a broad and universal cause, and that he had signed the Irish address: he would neither attend the celebration, nor answer the written invitation. He is, of course, 'an enemy of the Slave,' 'a hater of God and man,' and 'a clerical dealer in human blood.'"

Of the effects of Father Mathew's labors here in the cause of Temperance only time can decide. We hope that they will be unexceptionably and incalculably good; but we are not so sanguine as some around us. We utterly disapprove of the pledge being exacted of young children, or of any man or woman under excitement. All the power and influence which Father Mathew bears with him over and above what is exerted by other agents in that great cause, comes from the prestige of his priestly character, and therefore a part of it is to be ascribed to the superstition of his countrymen. We have not forgotten that a Roman Catholic council at Baltimore, a few years ago, decreed that the Pledge was not to be looked upon as a religious vow, the breaking of which was mortal sin. But if it is not a religious vow, what force has it to a Roman Catholic? If Father Mathew can make the Pledge more sacred than it has been regarded by some of his countrymen, he will have a permanent, and not a merely temporary effect upon them. We look upon him with unqualified respect, and heartily desire from his mission good fruits, which shall be as lasting and as extensive as his own well-deserved fame.

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*The French Intervention in Rome.* — The much vexed controversy, as to whether a better knowledge of events, of their causes and influence, is possessed by those who are living when they occur, or is obtained by those who afterwards read of them as history, may find an argument in support of the latter side, in the recent strange proceedings of a French army in the States of the Church. Who, of all our contemporaries, save the few who are parties to the secret diplomacy of cabinets, has any real knowledge, or can impart any reliable information, concerning

the most unparalleled piece of impertinence and effrontery that was ever witnessed in modern times? Who can or will tell us on what pretence, by what instigation, for what purpose, a republic founded one year in revolution, and far from having assured its own existence, even for the next year, presumes to send out an army to prevent the imitation of its own act by another people, who had more to complain of, and a better right to try their strength against tyranny, because that tyranny showed itself in a more hateful form? What sent the French to Rome? What business had they there? How comes it that Protestant Christendom could look on the recent struggle, in which the wrong party appears to have triumphed, and allow such base and overbearing iniquity? We will confess to having felt some surprise, that, excitable and jealous for republican liberty and institutions as our own people are, the suggestion, at least, did not find public utterance among us for a volunteer expedition from this country to aid the Romans. The prohibition which our own laws pass upon such intermeddling, and which was held up as a restraint over those who meditated, a few years since, the offer of efficient help to the Greeks and to the Poles,—this prohibition would not have alone stifled the expression of a desire to rush to the rescue of the Roman republic. Doubtless our own recent doings in Mexico have reminded us of the proverb about those who live in glass houses, and have tied the tongues of many. We are inclined, however, to account for the seeming apathy and indifference of Protestant Christendom to the outrage which the French have perpetrated, by ascribing it more to amazement, wonder, an astounding surprise excited by the conduct of the French, and to a deliberate waiting for some explanation of it, which, it was taken for granted, would soon be forthcoming. But how long must we wait for it? Are only our posterity to know it as history, while contemporaries are to ask in vain for that explanation? Shall it be deferred till some years hence, when state secrets and diplomatic papers are published? We cannot but think that our children will know more about the matter than we do. We have searched in vain through the abundant paragraphs of French and English journals, through reports of debates, and the long columns of correspondence from Italy and France, to learn under what instigation, for what end, by what warrant, the French Republic sent an army to Rome, which, after having besieged the city, and battered down its walls, and entered it without capitulation, by a surrender at discretion, has established there a military rule, has set over it a military governor, and published military enactments and orders to its citizens. The whole affair is enveloped in a dark mystery. No reason or plea has been given for these proceedings, except such as are so manifestly shallow and evasive as to be ludicrously unsatisfactory. Even in the English Parliament, when members, teased by curiosity, or vexed by the well-kept secret of such marvellous proceedings, have called for information from the leaders of the English government, there has been a most dainty and reluctant notice taken of their questions, and an instantaneous changing of the subject, without debate, save in one instance.

The only approach which the French have made towards an explanation, and this appears solely in the brief official documents of General Oudinot, and in one declaration made by a cabinet minister in the French Assembly, intimates two different and inconsistent pleas to justify the French in intermeddling with Rome. The one plea is, that it was in-



tended to prevent the ascendancy which Austria might gain over the Roman republic. But if there was reason, as doubtless there was, for such an apprehension, the French republic had no more business to interfere than had Great Britain or Russia, and the time for interference would not come until Austria had actually made an adverse attempt; and then the method of interference would have been, not for France to have assailed Rome, but to have pitted itself against Austria. The other plea is, that the so-called Roman Republic is but the temporary ascendancy of a band of foreign adventurers and bandits, combined with a worthless mob of lawless men in the city, and that the French army went to defend the true citizens and people of Rome, and her young freedom, from the desperate counsels and the dangerous rule of General Garibaldi and the triumvirs. Very well. Let France publish the call for help, the invitation and appeal which she received from these order and priest-loving citizens, and then this latter plea will hold good. But, till that public announcement is made, well authenticated, and proved to have been ratified to the French Cabinet as earnest and reasonable, and expressive of the large majority of wills and wishes of the Roman people, we must conclude that a great secret lies at the bottom of the whole affair. The only alternative is to suppose that the French had no definite object in view, that they acted from a merely impulsive instigation, which was precipitately followed, and has involved a train of unforeseen consequences, leading them on farther than they had ever imagined, and bringing them to a result which has exceedingly embarrassed them. This supposition derives much support from the fact that the French now find themselves in a most ridiculous position as the masters of Rome, and at a loss what to do in that position; — self-constituted umpires between two, or, as they say, three parties, — the Pope, the soldiers, and the citizens, — neither of which invited their interference, or will accept their terms.

One thing is certain. The temporal power of the Pope has come to its end; or if it be for the moment reinforced by arms, it will be only to find a final overthrow in the first establishment of peaceful order. It remains to be proved whether there can be a Pope of the Church without a civil realm. The great adversary offered to the Saviour "the kingdoms of the world, with all their glory," but the Saviour declined them. The Pope accepted the offer from the same tempter, who did not own what he has attempted to give away, and so has never fully kept his promise; but so far as he has fulfilled his contract, he has brought confusion and trouble on hundreds of the Popes. Let Pius Ninth make a cheerful effort to annul the contract.

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*Unitarian Chapel at Bridgeport, Ct.* — The widow of the late Hon. Roger Gerard Van Polanen, has long had at heart the erection of a place of worship at Bridgeport, where the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ might be preached, without the mixture of human inventions. We are glad that her wish approaches to its fulfilment. On Thursday, June 21, the corner stone of an edifice, to be called the Polanen Chapel, — in commemoration of a worthy Christian man, — was laid in that place, with appropriate religious services, conducted by Rev. F. A. Farley, of Brooklyn, N. Y., whose most efficient help has been chiefly instrumental in gathering a band of worshippers as the foundation of a society there.

The fee of the chapel is to be vested in the American Unitarian Association, who will pay an interest of six per cent. to Madame Van Polanen, at whose cost it is erected, during her natural life.

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*Ordinations.*—MR. CHARLES M. TAGGART, a graduate of the Meadville Theological School, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church and Society in Albany, N. Y., on Tuesday, July 31. The Introductory Services were by the Rev. John Pierpont, of Troy, N. Y.; Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., preached the Sermon; Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., offered the Prayer of Ordination; Professor Stebbins, of Meadville, Pa., gave the charge; Rev. Mr. Heywood, of Louisville, gave the Fellowship of the Churches; and Dr. Dewey offered the concluding Prayer.

MR. AUGUSTUS WOODBURY, of the class graduating this year from the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church and Society in Concord, N. H., on Wednesday, August 1. The Introductory Prayer was offered by Rev. S. G. Bulfinch, of Nashville, N. H.; Selections from Scripture were read by Rev. J. C. Smith, of Groton; Rev. A. P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, N. H., preached the Sermon; Rev. C. T. Thayer, of Beverly, offered the Prayer of Ordination; Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of Fitchburg, gave the Charge; Rev. F. P. Appleton, of Danvers, gave the Fellowship of the Churches; Rev. M. G. Thomas, former Pastor of the church, now of New Bedford, addressed the People; and Rev. A. A. Livermore, of Keene, N. H., offered the concluding Prayer.

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#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Harvard College Commencement.*—This most ancient literary festival in our land took place on Wednesday, July 18th, in the Church of the First Parish, Cambridge. The time for the annual commencement was changed this year, or rather restored, to the day which begins the summer vacation,—that is, six weeks earlier than heretofore, when it was held at the close of vacation. The change is not without objections, though it has the obvious advantage of allowing the members of the graduating class to perform their parts and take their degrees at the close of the term, instead of obliging them to return to Cambridge after their studies were finished and they had been scattered, many of them to distant homes. A coincidence which never occurred before was realized on this occasion. Besides the present Governor of the Commonwealth, and the present President of the College, there were on the stage two ex-governors, and two ex-presidents; the Hon. Edward Everett, in his single person, answering to both titles, the Hon. John Davis, former Governor of the State, and now member of the United States Senate, and the venerable ex-President Quincy. A large number of gentlemen, distinguished for station and personal worth, crowded the platform, and every part of the church was filled. The exercises commenced at 10 o'clock, A. M., and were not closed till after 3 o'clock, P. M.

Seventy-eight young men, members of the graduating class, received

the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Honors, in the shape of *parts*, were assigned to thirty-five of this number, seven of whom did not appear on the stage. One Latin and one Greek Oration gave proof to the audience that those languages were still studied in the College, further proof of which was found in the programme of the exercises and in the announcements by the President. No ludicrous or humorous dialogue, such as diversifies the grave performances at some other of our colleges, has ever been indulged in at Cambridge. There was very great variety in the subjects of the orations, dissertations, essays, and disquisitions, and a far larger proportion of them than we have ever noticed before bore upon themes of present and popular interest. "The Pilgrim Fathers," of course, were not forgotten; never may they be, on that spot! — nor "The Last Hours of Socrates." But the themes of "Mental Epidemics," "Newspapers," "The Earth and Man," "The Multiplication of Books," "Kossuth," "The War in Circassia," "Recent Conquests in India," and "The Two Races in Canada," could not fail to engage, as they did, the attention of the audience. All the exercises displayed a vigorous intellectual character, good sense, clear thought, and as effective a delivery as could reasonably be looked for. Those who are most ready to criticize severely such performances might do well to put themselves in the situation of young men hardly passed from boyhood, standing on a stage before such an audience, and reciting, *memoriter*, a piece on some high theme, of their own composition.

President Sparks went through with the ceremony of conferring the degrees with much dignity and grace, though for the first time. The members of the graduating class having received their diplomas, the degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon forty-one candidates, showing that the *regular practice* has not yet succumbed to the *aquatic* or the *atomic* theories. There were forty-five recipients of the degree of Bachelor of Laws, though only two answered to the call of the President.

The following honorary degrees were then conferred, viz: that of Doctor of Divinity, — or, according to academic usage, the title *Sacro Sanctæ Theologiæ Doctor*, — on the Rev. George Washington Burnap, of Baltimore, Md.; the Rev. Levi Washburn Leonard, of Dublin, N. H.; and the Rev. Charles Kittredge True, pastor of the Methodist Church in Charlestown.

The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Hon. George Eustis, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana; Hon. Richard Fletcher, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; Hon. Horace Mann, late Secretary of the Board of Education, now a Representative of Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, and the Hon. Theophilus Parsons, Dane Professor of Law in the Law School of Harvard College.

The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on Francis Alger, of Boston; on Jonathan Ingersoll Bowditch, of Boston; and on Professor Arnold Guyot, late of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, now of Cambridge.

After the exercises in the church, a procession was formed at Gore Hall, of those who had received a Master's Degree, and of invited guests, and passed to Harvard Hall to dine. The Divine blessing was invoked by the Rev. Dr. Sharp, of Boston, and thanks were returned by

the Rev. Professor Stebbins, of the Theological School at Meadville, Pa. As far back as the memory of the larger number of the graduates extended, the LXXVIIIth Psalm, of the New England version, had been sung on this occasion, the tune being pitched by the now venerable Dr. Peirce of Brookline, who has been present at sixty-six Commencements, fifty-eight of them in unbroken succession. His absence and his illness were deeply felt when another voice started the tune, as they had been throughout the day. All who were present at the dinner responded, by standing in silence, to the sentiment offered by Mr. Wendell Phillips, — "The health of the Rev. John Pierce, D. D., of Brookline."

A meeting of the Graduates of the College was held in the afternoon, in University Chapel, for the purpose of reviving the Association of the Alumni. Ex-President Everett was called to the chair, and the Rev. S. K. Lothrop was chosen Secretary. The annual meeting of the Association having failed for two successive years, on account of the failure of an orator, its regular business had been suspended, and its continued existence rendered doubtful. After a most lively discussion of the question whether the Association was still alive, one worthy member affirmed that, from his own knowledge, "its estate had not been settled." This argument was satisfactory, and it was unanimously voted that the officers of the Association, last chosen, be requested to resume the exercise of their functions, and to make arrangements for literary exercises and a dinner, on next Commencement Day.

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*Phi Beta Kappa Society, Alpha of Massachusetts.* — This Literary Society held its Anniversary at Cambridge on Thursday, July 19. After the private business had been transacted, a procession was formed at about noon, and marched to the First Parish Church. The President of the Society, Hon. Theophilus Parsons, being absent, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Vice President, presided throughout the day. The Rev. Dr. Hall, of Providence, R. I., officiated as Chaplain. The Orator of the day was the Rev. George W. Bethune, D. D., of Philadelphia. His subject was "The Claims of our Country on its Literary Men." His delivery occupied two hours and five minutes. While a severe critical taste, and men of different opinions, views, and theories, might find considerable matter of discussion in the performance as a whole, and in some particular parts of it, yet the large audience agreed in pronouncing it eminently successful, full of power and thought, honest, clear-headed, sagacious, and good-tempered. There were passages of deep solemnity and of very grave appeal, separated by broad humor and a keen wit which trespassed upon satire. The vindication of the sentiment of patriotism furnished the Orator with a fit introduction. Of the Pilgrim Fathers he spoke with reverential respect, though he ventured to remind us that those who lived at the south and west sometimes heard rather too much about them, and that their descendents were sometimes inclined to act as if those Pilgrim Fathers had settled the whole country, and had left for their New England children a claim to the best part of every thing, including good bargains, and well-dowered wives from the other States. The severity of the Discourse, however, was saved to be visited on Reformers of a particular complexion, who evidently frighten themselves more than they do any one else, by threatening a destruction of the Union and its Constitution. Utilitarianism found an able defender

in Dr. Bethune. But Puseyism was unsparingly ridiculed as a matter of literary taste, of antiquarian madness, of social institutions, and and of architectural and ornamental style. It appeared that the Orator had struck his head against "a Gothic hobgoblin" carved in the canopy of a bed in which he had been seeking rest.

After the Oration, a Poem was delivered by Mr. John B. Felton. Its recondite imagery and allusions, and its rich and learned drapery, prevented that effect on the audience which so chaste and beautiful a piece of composition would be sure to have upon a reader. The Oration will lose, the Poem will gain, when the printer shall have exercised his art upon them.

The dinner of the Society was a very refined and joyous occasion. The Orator of the day poured forth more of his wit and wisdom. The strong and earnest lessons which he had spoken, and the high responsibilities which he had proved to belong to this favored nation, and to its favored class, left an impression here which he may be proud to have produced. He has raised the standard for his successor.

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*The Boston Athenæum.* — Previous pages of our number record the interest and zeal exhibited by the late Rev. Mr. Buckminster, and the circle of his literary friends, in founding the Boston Athenæum. It is a pleasant coincidence, that, almost simultaneous with the publication of his memoirs and of his correspondence on the subject, a new and imposing structure should be opened for public use, which seems to realize his own ideas of what his cherished institution should be. At an expense of one hundred thousand dollars thus far paid, an elegant free-stone edifice, with a Palladian front of one hundred and fourteen feet, has been erected, and though not internally completed, is sufficiently finished to admit of occupancy. The basement contains rooms for packing cases, for bookbinders' work, for the residence of a janitor and watchman, and apparatus for heating and ventilating the building. The first floor, which is not yet thoroughly finished, is to contain a splendid exhibition-hall for sculpture, two reading-rooms, and a cabinet for medals, coins, and other valuable articles. The second floor is appropriated to the library, which is mostly arranged in one long hall, probably the most elegant, tasteful, and convenient for its use of any apartments in this country. Two side rooms are designed for the prospective increase of the library. The arrangements for lighting, warming, and ventilating are most perfect. The situation of the edifice, though in the very heart of the city territorially, is a quiet one, as the library rooms look out upon the Granary Cemetery, which, unlike a London churchyard, is so little used and so well adorned, as to be a sober accompaniment of good reading and wisdom rather than a nuisance. The arrangement of the books, and other important matters, prove the admirable skill and judgment of the courteous and scholarly librarian, Mr. Folsom. The third story is appropriated to a picture-gallery, the pictures being raised to it through a curiously devised passage-way, after the fashion of a dumb waiter. Many valuable paintings are owned by the institution, and are now in their places.

A further sum of twenty-five thousand dollars is requisite to complete the internal finishings and adornments of the edifice. We trust that the world-renowned liberality and literary character of our city will soon supply what is wanted. The building is an ornament to Bos-

ton. Indeed, it is the finest piece of architecture here, though we know how little is thus said. Access to the reading-room and library is very readily obtained by respectable visitors in this city, and residents who do not own shares in the institution are, very many of them, indulged with its privileges. Forty thousand volumes, of a remarkably useful character, are found in the library, and the current literature of the day is respectably represented in the reading-room. To so honorable a fulfilment have the fondly cherished hopes of Mr. Buckminster and his literary friends now attained. Let the good work be fostered still, and generously advanced.

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*International Book-Trade.*—We have often felt a surprise, that, in the lack of an international copyright act to guard the interests of literary men, at least between England and America, English publishers did not avail themselves of a course which would at the same time secure their own interests and those of their authors. A copyright book in England is generally of very high cost, much dearer than are our books of the same character here. We observe that Lieutenant Lynch's "Expedition to the Dead Sea," which was by arrangement published simultaneously in London and Philadelphia, sells there for five dollars a copy, while the price here for a copy, in all respects equal, is one dollar. Lord Dover, in his "Review of Macaulay's History of England," in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, says, that 18,000 copies of that work were sold in England in six months. Probably treble the number were sold here. But after our markets were well supplied with various editions, neither of which was fit for a library, the London publishers sent over a large number of copies, to be sold here at half the retail price in England. If they had done this when the work was first issued, they might doubtless have disposed of twenty-five thousand copies; and when the types are set, copies may be multiplied at little more than the cost of paper and binding. Why do not London publishers generally avail themselves of this resource, and forestall our market with numerous copies of their best books, of the same mechanical character, and at one half or one third of the London price? They certainly stand in their own light if they refuse to do this. Messrs. Little & Brown of Boston have made an arrangement with the Edinburgh publishers, by which they can furnish the *Edinburgh Review* within a fortnight of its appearance in Great Britain, at four dollars a year. The American reprint of that *Review* costs three dollars a year, or two dollars when taken with three others. But the value of the English edition is greatly increased by the advertisements, fly-leaves, and literary information which are to be found in numerous pages sewed up with each number.

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#### O B I T U A R Y.

In the Sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Dewey, at the ordination of Mr. C. M. Taggart, at Albany, appropriate mention was made of the late **MON. HARMANUS BLEECKER**, one of the most honored and devoted members of the Unitarian Society in that city. Mr. Bleecker was a distinguished man, universally respected for his talents and virtues, and held in high esteem by his fellow-citizens, of all sects and

parties, for his affability, his friendliness, and his integrity. He was born of a distinguished family, in 1779, and was, for many years, a partner, in the practice of the law, with the late Hon. Theodore Sedgwick. He was a member of Congress during the exciting times of the last war with England, of which he was an earnest opponent, preferring peace, and believing that it might have been maintained. Mr. Bleecker was appointed United States Minister to the Hague, by his friend, President Van Buren. In this official capacity, which he sustained for many years, he won the highest respect and confidence of the Dutch people and of the court, whose language was perfectly familiar to him, and received the unusual tribute of a public address on resigning his mission. Before his return to this country, he married the accomplished lady whom he has left as his widow, and found much happiness in a connection which brightened the hospitalities of his home, and increased the natural cheerfulness and graces of his character. He was a most zealous, well-informed, and hearty disciple of Liberal Christianity.

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#### DEATH OF THE REV. DR. PIERCE.

WHILE the press waits for our last sheet, we have opportunity and space only to record the death of the venerable and honored Senior Pastor of the First Church in Brookline. He expired peacefully at the parsonage just before noon on Friday, August 24th. We of course defer to another time such a commemoration of the life and character, of the virtues and services, of our deceased father in the ministry, as will be expected from this journal. His gradual decline from a state of apparently remarkable vigor to a condition of feebleness, without severe pain, has enabled his friends to resort to his study, and there to hold most delightful communion with him. The serenity of spirit which was so strikingly exhibited at the commencement of his illness, when he was compelled to forego his activity and be ministered to, continued with him to the last conscious hour. We have observed in his later years almost a pride and boast of health, and the power of enduring fatigue. His very early rising, his physical exertions, and his long walks, with his scrupulous temperance in diet, may perhaps be charged by some as the causes of his last illness, which was almost his only illness. But, at any rate, if it could be proved that they shortened his days, it may well be added that his years were of good measure, while his habits of life made them healthful and happy, and gave peace to their close.

Dr. Pierce entered upon his seventy-seventh year on the fourteenth day of July last. All who saw him a year or two ago would have said that he stood the fairest of all the sons of Harvard as a candidate for the place of honor on the catalogue, as the oldest graduate whose name should bear no star. The *post mortem* examination of his body, which he himself desired, and which has just taken place as we write, exhibits an internal cancerous affection, diffused through the system. The knowledge of this fact will surprise those who, on their visits to Dr. Pierce, were relieved at hearing from his own lips that he suffered no pain.

He has gone from us, without ever having had an enemy on the earth, and his last utterance was in the words, "entire submission to God."

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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NOVEMBER, 1849.

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ART I. — THE SCIENTIFIC MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.\*

IN 1847, the American Association of Geologists, a society of about six years' standing, voted to resolve itself into an "American Association for the Advancement of Science." The first meeting, under the new organization, was held at Philadelphia, in September, 1848; the second, at Cambridge, in August, 1849. The society now numbers rather more than five hundred members, — a sufficient proof that the movement which led to its formation was well-timed and judicious.

The Association proposes, by the reading and publication of papers containing the results of original investigations, positive additions to knowledge; also, by private intercourse, mutual communication and suggestion, to aid in the advancement of natural sciences, of physics, and mathematics. It already comprises in its list of members nearly all the scientific men of our country, and desires to unite with them the machinists, engineers, and other men who are making practical application of science. Thus, through the medium of this Association, it is hoped theory and practice may the more rapidly react upon each other, to the advantage of both.

The great number and variety of the papers offered at the late meeting in Cambridge would forbid any notice of their

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\* *Second Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cambridge, August 14 - 22, 1849. Reported for the Traveller, by H. M. PARKHURST.*



contents, even if they were upon themes appropriate to the pages of our journal. But we were so much interested in certain of the general questions repeatedly presented to the notice of the Association, and in the general spirit in which they were met and discussed, that we are disposed to speak of them somewhat at length.

There is doubtless lurking in many minds a distrust of human learning. The warning which Paul uttered against science, falsely so called, has been perverted to warn men against science itself. The reputation of France for infidelity, at the beginning of the century, being associated in many minds with her reputation for science, has given these perverted warnings an undue weight. Even in our own Commonwealth, a jealousy has manifested itself, springing up among the friends of religion, towards the intellectual culture of the common school, and fears have been seriously felt, and openly expressed, lest the development of the intellect might harden the heart.

To us there has always appeared to be a species of impious infidelity in all such fears; — as though God had not made us in harmony with his world and with his law! The healthful development of any power with which he has endowed us is in itself a fulfilment of his will, and cannot tend to alienate our hearts from him, or in any way render it more difficult for us to obey him. The only question will be, What is a healthful development of power? Creation is that elder Scripture, writ by God's own hand, in which his eternal power and divinity are clearly revealed. Shall we fear to read in this divine volume, lest thereby we lose our love of its Author? Surely the very fear shows we have not yet loved him with the whole heart and mind. "We ministers need," said one of our friends, in conversation on this point, "more study of theology, — more intellectual acquaintance with the thoughts of God as he manifests them in the laws of nature." And truly, as our friend implied, all study of nature is a study of natural theology, so that a student of science could with propriety be defined, in the quaint words of old John Dee, "He that seeketh (by St. Paul's advertisement) in the creature's properties and wonderful virtues to find just cause to glorify the eternal and almighty Creator by." For, as one of the deepest thinkers present at the late meeting has said, the only object of science is to discover the harmonies of creation; that is, in effect, to show the unity, wisdom,

and goodness of the Creator, by discovering the laws or thoughts according to which he planned the world.

The most rooted jealousy of science, as hostile to faith, must, we think, have been removed by a visit to the meeting at Cambridge, where were gathered nearly all the most devoted students of science in our own country, together with several from Europe, greatly distinguished for their attainments, and over whose deliberations there certainly reigned, not only a spirit of brotherhood, but a spirit of unaffected reverence towards Him whose works they study and whose laws they seek to unfold.

It is easy to see how the study of organism leads to faith. Indeed, the very name of organ implies creation by a will, guided by wisdom. The primal object in all physiological inquiries is to discover the purpose of the organ. So that not a step can be taken without a tacit acknowledgment of God. No greater error was perhaps committed by the reputed founder of inductive philosophy, than his sneering at this search for the final cause. All the finest discoveries of zoölogy and botany have been made by those who were guided by the principle which Lord Bacon thought useless in science, the principle that each part of an organic being is created for some specific use in the organism, and that in the knowledge of these purposed uses is contained a complete knowledge of the creature. Not otherwise than through the guidance of this principle could the wondrous work of restoring, from geological remains, the lost races of creatures on the earth have been brought to its present successful state. Through investigations into the purpose and harmony of parts has the marvellous unity of each creature been brought to light, — a unity so complete, that it is now no bold figure of speech to say, that we are “well able of the lion’s claw to conjecture his royal symmetrie and farther property”; — since Agassiz, years ago, constructed from a single scale an unknown fish, and Owen, recently, from microscopic examination of a fragment of bone, discovered a new kind of birds, of which he has since received bones enough to establish several species. On no other principle, than that all parts of an animal are fitted together with infinite wisdom and perfect adaptation to its wants and destined situation, can the naturalist thus, even from the track of an unknown creature left imprinted upon the sand, decide with confidence its precise form and place in the rank of being, its food, and general habits of life.

Neither is it difficult to understand how other physical sciences suggest perpetually religious thought. For in all physical inquiries we go upon the assumption that there is a law, the guidance and control of a thought. Despite of Comte's assertion, that Science seeks only general forms of stating facts, we conceive the object of her search to be quite different. An empiric law frequently states facts with as much precision, as much generality, and as much brevity, as the true law, the law of the Creator's plan. Yet an empiric law never has satisfied the scientific mind. Kepler's three laws were no better than the rest of his hundred analogies, until Newton showed them to be the observed data from which the causal law of gravity can be deduced. Yet these laws embody all the sensible facts as completely and conveniently as Newton's law. The idea of the force of gravity, which constitutes the difference between this law and those of Kepler, and gives it power to satisfy the scientific mind, is not an idea of cause in Comte or Mill's sense, of an antecedent phenomenon, but in the true sense of efficiency, which they reject. And Kirkwood's newly-discovered analogy, binding together so many hitherto distinct facts, will suffer a like fate with Kepler's laws; it will be considered of little importance to know that the number of a planet's days in its year is proportioned to the square root of its sphere of attraction, until a new fact is discovered, not in outward, or what Comte calls positive, relations, but in the cause of this proportion, — that is, the manner in which the Creator effected its production, and the purpose for which he has established it.

It is a perception of the unity of thought, of the plan of the Creator, that alone satisfies the mind. Man himself builds upon the model of his ideas, and acts to effect a purpose, and he cannot, therefore, but look for the evidences of purpose and plan in the world. In this search he is successful. The unity of the stellar creation has been shown by the obedience of the binary stars to the law of gravity. That the world of animated things sprang from the same creative will that formed the earth is shown, as by many other facts, so by one recently alluded to in this journal,\* — the present obliquity of the ecliptic. A diminution of obliquity would burn the equator with fiercer heat, and draw down a frigid climate upon the northern part of the temperate zone. An

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\* Vol. XII. p. 102.

increase of obliquity would carry frosts into southern regions, and, on the other hand, increase greatly the heat of northern summers. It would only require an obliquity of forty degrees to destroy all tropical plants by frost, and all of the northern countries by intense summer heat. Similar adaptations of the world to animated things are to be found at every step of our way in chemistry, geology, optics, acoustics, electricity, and other studies in unorganized matter.

But the religious leading of science is nowhere more strongly manifested than in the department, where a superficial thinker would least expect it, of pure mathematics. The laws of space and time are suggested to the mathematician, in the first place, by the phenomena of nature. Again, when he has discovered a beautiful law, he endeavours to illustrate it by sensible figures, diagrams, or experiments. The next train of thought naturally leads him to consider, in all cases, the phenomena of nature as the illustrations of a mathematical idea. Hence the study of abstract law becomes venerable, leading us to a perception of the great thoughts of God, which he has illustrated, for our learning, in the phenomena of creation. Never has this train of thought greater power over us than when we discover that two independent phenomena, one perhaps manifested only in space, the other in time, — one static, the other dynamic, — are both embodiments of the same algebraic thought. The forms of flowers and of growing plants, for instance, are constantly expressible by formulas, in which enter some one of the approximations to a certain fraction. The ratio of the times of revolution of two adjacent planets is, likewise, always nearly one of these approximations, saving the ratios in which the earth's year enters. Yet what connection can we trace between the arrangement of buds on a plant, and the harmony of revolutions in the planets? None, except this connection in the arithmetical law, — a connection sufficient, however, if it be perfect, to show that One Mind created the heavens and the earth.

This argument, developed by Professor Peirce' at the Cambridge meeting, is so forcible in its nature, and so curious in its illustrations, that we shall, perhaps, be justified in restating it in fuller form.

If on any twig of a cherry-tree we count the leaves from the bottom upwards, we shall find that the sixth leaf is over the first, the seventh over the second, &c. That is, two

successive leaves, viewed from above, make an angle with each other equal to two fifths of a circle, and it requires five such intervals to make two complete revolutions. On a twig of elm, the third leaf is over the first; or the angle between two successive leaves, viewed from above, is half a circle. In the currant, the angle is usually three eighths; that is, eight leaves are required to make three turns, and the ninth leaf is over the first. The angle which two successive leaves, viewed from above, make with each other, in any plant, is generally found to be one of the following series of fractions of a circumference: —

$$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{2}{5}, \frac{3}{5}, \frac{4}{5}, \frac{5}{6}, \frac{4}{7}, \frac{5}{7}, \frac{6}{7}, \frac{5}{8}, \frac{7}{8}, \frac{6}{9}, \frac{7}{9}, \frac{8}{9}, \text{ \&c.}$$

Sometimes, however, this angle is one of the following: —  $\frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \frac{2}{5}, \frac{3}{14}, \text{ \&c.}$ ; and occasionally we have found, in the golden-rod, fractions of the series,  $\frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{2}{7}, \frac{3}{11}, \text{ \&c.}$  Other fractions are found, but we believe that, in a healthy plant, the fractions always belong to a similar series; that is, to a series in which the first two fractions have the numerators each 1, and the denominators differing by 1, and the terms of any other fraction are formed by adding those of the two preceding. Such a series approximates, the higher it is carried, more and more nearly to an aliquot part of the difference between the square root of five, and some odd number. The first series we have given, which is by far the most common, consists of the successive approximations to  $\frac{1}{2} (3 - \sqrt{5})$ .

Now if we divide the year of Uranus by that of Neptune, the year of Saturn by that of Uranus, that of Jupiter by that of Saturn, &c., we shall obtain nearly the following fractions: —

$$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{107}{305}, \frac{21}{53}, \frac{32}{85}, \frac{53}{131}, \frac{17}{42}, \frac{8}{15}, \frac{22}{57}.$$

The close coincidence of these fractions with the successive approximations of the common series for leaves is rendered still more significant by the fact, that one of those two which differ most from the common series, namely, the ratio between Venus's year and the Earth's, is one of a series which, in vegetable life, cannot be distinguished from the common, except by the spiral running in the opposite direction; the series, namely, beginning with  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{4}{5}, \frac{5}{6}, \text{ \&c.}$  The year of Venus differs by only about one hour and a half from  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the Earth's.

Among the periods of Jupiter's moons, also, we find three

ratios, among those of Saturn six, among those of Herschel four, which are nearly approximations in these series. They do not, however, follow the proper order of approximation as they approach the primary planet.

Here, then, are two problems, one in astronomy, the other in botany, and both solved by the same arithmetical law. The botanical problem is, to distribute the leaves, buds, petals, &c., of plants in such wise as to secure a graceful variety of symmetry. The astronomical problem is, to proportion the years of the planets in such wise, as to render the conjunction of any considerable number a rare occurrence; to secure, that is, the system from too great mutual interference, by keeping the planets scattered round the sun. This is done by making the years incommensurable, and nearly in the ratio which is measured by approximations to an aliquot part of the difference between some odd number and the square root of five. The botanical problem is solved by setting the leaves at an angle, which is to the whole circle in a ratio measured by the same approximations. And in both cases, the odd number usually employed is 3, and the aliquot part is one half.

Now, notwithstanding the nonconformity of the ratio between the Earth's year and that of Mars to this rule, we cannot refuse to see, in the general facts, evidence that One Mind built the heavens and the plants, and has, in these two different modes, in time and in forms, illustrated these peculiar fractions, as if to call men's attention to their beauty and usefulness. Nay, inasmuch as we have in nature only approximate values to an incommensurable quantity, and as we find closer approximations in the flower than in the green leaf, and in the planets near the sun than in those remote, may we not suppose that there is hidden in the surd itself (the square root of five) some infinite and inexpressible beauty, of which we shall learn more and more, as we become more and more conversant with the thoughts of the Creator?

A similar argument may be drawn from the identity of the equation of the motions of a pendulum with that of the forms of an elastic line, when we suppose that the force required to bend the line is directly proportioned to the angle it makes with its position in its state of rest. We cannot suppose this law of elasticity is a necessary law, yet we find it has actually been adopted, as if to lead us to see the variety of applications of which this equation is capable; and who

shall say whether this is not for the purpose of leading men, at some future day, to new applications of the law ?

Men have always sought to apply geometric and algebraic forms (discovered by those who sought for truth in the pure love of it, for its own sake) to the arts of life. So great has been their success, that the whole aspect of civilized life has thus been changed. The contempt of Dr. Johnson, and the satire of Swift, seem at the present day to have been strangely misdirected. Literature now brings offerings of quite another kind to the shrines of Science, and glows into eloquence and song at the mention of the triumph of men over waves and winds, space and time, obstacles and hindrances. The mathematics have extorted for themselves, from all tongues, the acknowledgment that they are the key of Nature, by which alone we can gain access to her treasures. But geometry has a higher function to perform than measuring the earth, and algebra than numbering the earth's fruit. The lovers of these sciences have ever found in them a mathesis, a learning, of all things, spiritual and natural. In all the great laws of the mathematics, we find clear enunciations of the laws of other sciences. As their own formulas are, as we have just shown, sometimes illustrated in two distinct and diverse phenomena, so the great principles which govern the formation of these formulas are frequently applicable to things very foreign from all questions of quantity or measurement. Among the principles thus applicable to all departments of thought and action, but usually confined to mathematics, we may instance, from algebra, that, to have a determinate result, we must have as many conditions as we have variable elements ; from geometry, that the same mode of reasoning is not equally adapted to all subjects ; and from the calculus, that a complete solution of a question is oftentimes not so useful for practical application as a partial definite solution. But it is the true use of all learning to bring us into a nearer communion with the Author of all things, and it is the high office of the mathematics to show us the pattern, the image or form, by which he created each thing. "All things," says Boethius, "which have been formed from primeval laws, seem formed in the ratio of numbers. For this was the principal pattern in the mind of the Creator." So that, says a commentator on Euclid, it is "the chief glory of Geometry, that it loyters not, or employes it self about these inferiour ma-

chines, from whence it had its original, but hath soared up into Heaven, and resettled human minds, (grovelling before in the dust,) in celestial seats, and hath capacitated us to the understanding both of this whole fabric of the world, and the administration and government thereof."

We have been led to speak, in general terms, of the religious influence of natural history, physics, and mathematics ; but we wish, also, distinctly to affirm, that we consider that the modern history of these sciences affords proof; as unequivocally as the ancient, of the real effect of their influence upon their students. The atheism, which at one time appeared in men of scientific attainment, existed in spite of their knowledge, not in consequence of it. But it is now manifest that no man can make any great advance in any of the sciences, unless he be of a devout, or at least a reverent, spirit, — unless he proceed upon the assumption, that all created things were made according to one comprehensive and infinitely wise plan, in furtherance of one great object, in development of one great idea, to be reverently studied in history, in natural history, and in physics ; and that it is the main purpose of mathematical learning to understand and express this idea, so far as it is a function of space and time.

There was also perceptible at the Cambridge meeting an influence of science upon philosophy which it was pleasant to behold, as a promise of future reconciliation between the great opposing parties of all times. Ever since the days of Plato and his pupil, Aristotle, there has been, as every one knows, a great line of separation between Sensationalists and Transcendentalists, called by various names, and holding various doctrines. That is, there have been some whose whole philosophy seemed based on the assumption, that sensations are the only sources of knowledge ; others, who have also assumed the existence of ideas in the mind, independent of all sensation. The history of modern physical science proves that both these schools are right, and both are wrong. In behalf of the Sensationalist it proves, that the observation of nature is the only basis of knowledge. It even defies all the imagination and fancy of genius to invent any hypothetical phenomenon, save by the combination of known appearances. Yet it frequently discovers new phenomena existent, and not reducible to those already known. Thus it shows the senses to be the avenues of knowledge, leading to new wonders and arts, where fancy and imagination and reason were



powerless. At the same time, in behalf of the Transcendentalist, modern science proves, that men can elicit new truths of relation by the comparison of hypothetical cases. The history of astronomy and optics is full of instances, where-in a bold hypothesis has, in its verification, led to the discovery of hidden physical facts. And the really transcendental nature of this element of knowledge, the inability of mere observation and reason to furnish it, is amply shown by the vast difference between different men of the same powers of perception and judgment. Let them each make the same experiment, or witness the same occurrence, and the knowledge gained by each will be very different, both in amount and character. Every looker-on, at the late scientific meeting, must have been convinced, that each of the leading spirits there had peculiar gifts for his peculiar works. Those gifts consisted in a clearness of conceiving certain ideas, a clearness in comprehending God's thoughts, as they are expressed in certain departments of creation. Reason as we will concerning the origin of our knowledge, it remains an acknowledged fact, that a phenomenon of nature cannot give us ideas, — it can only suggest or awaken them; but, at the same time, these ideas can be awakened only by the phenomenon. We therefore repeat it,—by the history of modern science are Sensationalist and Transcendentalist taught each to respect the other's doctrine, and to acknowledge the utility of the other's methods.

The absurdity of *a priori* decisions upon the facts of nature is abundantly shown by the superior fruitfulness of modern science over that of book and syllogism naturalists; the infinite utility of *a priori* investigations as guides to observation is shown by the history of many discoveries in the same sciences and arts, from Galileo's reinvention of the telescope to Galle's finding of Neptune, from Columbus's discovery of America to Owen's rebuilding of the New Zealand moa.

Hence, also, will the course of liberal education become greatly modified by this change in the state of human philosophy and logic. The dryness of detail in every branch of study will be relieved by making more manifest to the pupil the connection of each subject with the great plan of God's government, and man's duty. The aversion which many learners feel towards all things now taught in schools will be avoided, by introducing into the course of instruction such branches as suit the natural tastes of all, and give each an

opportunity to exercise his special powers. As the sciences begin more powerfully to assert their claim upon the attention of men, it will be perceived that the objects of primary education are not attained when we have taught the child his mother tongue, the application of arithmetic to money-getting, and of geography to commerce ; neither are the objects of a collegiate course attained when the student has added to his English grammar some knowledge of other tongues, to his arithmetic a little of other mathematics, and to all a little drilling upon logic and rhetoric. In proportion as "the advancement of science" is made an object of care, we shall naturally seek to cultivate in our children habits and powers of observation and reasoning. Neither of these were taught in our old common-school system. Even now, there are few means employed to cultivate the perceptive powers ; it seems to be forgotten, by those in charge of our schools, that, before we reason, we must have facts to reason upon. Colburn's First Lessons is undoubtedly one of the best of all possible school-books ; yet, in the hands of many teachers, it becomes an occasion of great injury to the scholar. In developing the reasoning power of children at the age of ten or twelve, it succeeds beyond all praise ; but when the scholar begins to study it at the age of six or seven, and when all the other teaching in the school is modelled on the same plan, what can we expect of the child, but that he will become confused and bewildered by attempting to imitate its severe introspective analysis, wearied and disgusted with study, and thus grow up without learning even to reason ? As to observation, there is no pretence of cultivating the eye or ear, except through the alphabet and perchance a few maps. But when the advancement of science shall have more effectually convinced the world of the importance of studying the works of the all-wise Builder of the universe, it will be seen that the eye is the first thing to be educated. The first indication of intellect that the infant gives is in tracing with its eye the outline of things ; the second is in the recognition of objects which it has before seen. Does not Nature herself thus teach us that geometry and natural history are the proper branches of learning for the young child ? Children can ordinarily be taught to name all the plants of common occurrence in their neighbourhood, to tell all the most common birds, and even insects, and to recognize them all in drawings, before they can by any painstaking be taught to count twenty. The

fondness of a child for flowers and birds, for animals, for pictures and music, is proverbial. Yet, instead of following this plain intimation of Nature, we teach it to consider interest in the works of God childish, and shut it up in a close room, out of the sight of natural objects, to study the multiplication-table, or learn to compute interest on notes of hand. Arithmetic is made to fill the place of all other sciences, or serve as the foundation of all ; for neither of which offices is it well adapted. It probably occupies this prominent place from being considered the most practically useful science. But it enjoys this reputation undeservedly. While arithmetic is applicable only to direct questions of numbers, and may all be comprehended in about a dozen rules, geometry, through its culture of the eye and judgment, botany and zoölogy, through their exercise of the powers of observation and comparison, benefit the scholar in every possible department of life, mechanical, agricultural, or commercial. Even upon the narrow ground of utility, therefore, must the present course of education be changed. Physical sciences must come before mathematical, and geometry before arithmetic. Taking a higher view of education, as preparing a child of man to live as a child of God, it becomes still more evident, that the first intellectual training should aim to form the habit of listening to the word of God by which all things are created. As to the question of choice among physical sciences, the order of nature gives safe indications. First teach a child concerning those things in which he is interested. This brings zoölogy, botany, music, and geometry first in the order of time. And these may well occupy all the study hours, (which should be few,) in the first three years of schooling. Daily singing, and instruction in the art of distinguishing birds and insects by their notes, might constitute, at first, the musical tuition. The names of plants, grouped in natural families, illustrated by good drawings, and in summer by fresh specimens, with simple lessons upon the characters of the families and the physiology of vegetation, would constitute the botanical course. The instruction in zoölogy might be the same. In geometry, the "Introduction translated from Prussian Text-Books" affords excellent models for teachers. We would also include elementary drawing of outlines. Three years spent in this way, say from the age of five to eight, would prepare the scholar with a basis of facts for future reasoning, and he would enter with more un-

derstanding and ability upon the abstractions of arithmetic and grammar, and the sweeping generalities of geography. The last-named study would be rendered especially interesting, after such a preparation for understanding something of the plants and animals of foreign lands. We are aware that the change from the present course of study in the primary schools to that which we have now marked out, is not likely to be speedily made. Nevertheless, there have been, of late years, some approaches towards it. Music and drawing, and elementary geometry, have been introduced in many schools with great success. Botany and zoölogy ought to follow, and, doubtless, at some day will. Out of them natural theology must flow, as from a fountain.

Holding these views, we thought, while attending the late meeting in Cambridge, that we saw in several of the general questions, and in the spirit in which they were discussed, the promise of a new and happy influence from science upon our education, philosophy, and faith.

T. H.

## ART. II. — MISS MARTINEAU'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.\*

MISS MARTINEAU is a practised writer. She has already written tales, essays, theological and political disquisitions, books of travel, and treatises on household education; and now appears as the historian of her own times. Although she does not take very high rank as an historian, and sometimes pronounces her opinions with a degree of emphasis not quite becoming in one of her sex, her book possesses great merits, and is in general impartial and trustworthy. Her narrative is full, clear, and exact; her philosophical observations and reflections are in the main sound and just; and her characters of the prominent actors are, with few exceptions, skilfully delineated. Still, she has not the uncompromising impartiality of Hallam, the broad, philosophical grasp of Guizot, nor the unequalled erudition of Macaulay, always at home on every subject, and illustrating his views by curious

\* *The History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace: 1816–1846.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight. 1849. 4to pp. 599.

facts drawn from every department of literature, and from the history of every age and nation. She writes plainly, but forcibly ; and confines herself to the subject before her. Her references to her authorities are full and minute ; and they are always to valuable and reliable works. Only about three quarters of the present volume, however, are from her pen. The first book, which contains a narrative of the events from the signing of the Peace of Paris to the accession of George the Fourth, was mostly written by Mr. Charles Knight, the publisher, and printed in 1846. Circumstances compelling him to relinquish the undertaking, he invited Miss Martineau to resume the work where his labors were interrupted, and to carry it forward to its completion. In the part now published, the narrative is brought down to the death of the king. The portion for which Mr. Knight is responsible is respectably written ; but its chief merit is its impartiality ; and we see no reason to regret that the work has fallen into female hands.

The definitive articles of peace were settled at Paris, on the 20th of November, 1815 ; and the British statesmen could at last turn their attention more directly to the condition of their own country than they had been able to do since the breaking out of the American war. A new generation had sprung up since that event. Mansfield, the elder and the younger Pitt, and Fox, had been borne to their final resting-places in Westminster Abbey. Thurlow, Dundas, and Windham were no more. Burke, too, had been dead for eighteen years ; and it seemed as if the age of great men had passed. Those who remained — Lords Sidmouth, Liverpool, Castlereagh, Eldon, and Holland, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Wilberforce — were all men of lesser mark. Sheridan had lost his seat in Parliament, was now almost forgotten, and died in extreme destitution a few months after. The Duke of Wellington had won for himself a place among the ablest warriors of Europe ; but as yet he was innocent of political ambition, and ridiculed the idea of being minister. Nor had Peel yet greatly distinguished himself as a politician, or fairly commenced his strangely inconsistent career. Of those who most readily reminded one of the age of Pitt and Fox, Erskine had obtained a great reputation as an orator and a lawyer, and had, for a short time, held the chancellorship, but he was advanced in life, and only survived the peace about eight years ; Grey had enjoyed the friendship of

Fox, had opened the way for future renown by his brilliant exertions at the trial of Warren Hastings, — of whose impeachment he had been junior manager, — and his name was destined to be indissolubly connected with the passage of the Reform Bill ; Canning had long been the disciple and follower of Pitt, but was soon to be known as an independent party leader, and, cutting adrift from the policy of his master in statesmanship, to become almost as famous for his devotion to peace as that minister had been for his management of the war ; Brougham was in the vigor of manhood, endowed with a mind of singular versatility, and, with great power of invective and sarcasm, was to make himself admired throughout the civilized world by his eloquent defence of a wronged and cheated wife, and to lay the foundation for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the common people. George the Third was still nominally king ; but he had been insane for many years, and for the last five years had hardly enjoyed a lucid interval. Consequently, the whole of the regal power was wielded by the Prince of Wales, acting as prince regent. He was almost entirely devoid of political and moral principle, and with not a very clear understanding of the distinctions of right and wrong. His whole life had been an uninterrupted course of profligacy and vice. Under a false promise of marriage, he had destroyed the virtue of Mrs. Fitzherbert ; and, on the very night of his marriage with the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, he had reeled into the bridal chamber in a state of beastly intoxication. In his early manhood he had indulged in a factious opposition to his father's government, hardly less violent and reckless than the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, headed by his grandfather, half a century before. He had professed an ardent devotion to Whig principles, and zealously advocated Whig measures. Carlton House had been the principal resort of the Whig leaders, and had blazed with a triumphal illumination when Fox carried the Westminster election. There the Whigs had long been in the habit of arranging and maturing their plans for securing the success of liberal measures. But as soon as he found himself in the full and quiet possession of power, he threw himself into the arms of the Tories, and, forgetting all that he had before said or done, thought only of perpetuating that Tory ascendancy which had lasted almost unbroken since the accession of George the Third. Yet he was a man of talent and ability. No

one of his family who had been in England, with the exception of his great-grandmother, the wife of George the Second, it is believed, had such an intimate acquaintance with affairs, or exhibited so much skill in their management, as he did, although George the Third knew more of the daily routine of official duties in the different departments than either. Inheriting the obstinacy and wilfulness of his family, he possessed a clear mind, but was cold and heartless in all his transactions. Such were the men who were now to have the conduct of affairs in England.

Great questions demanded their attention. By the Peace of Paris, England had gained the object which the younger Pitt had had most at heart. French democratic principles were crushed, and the elder branch of the Bourbon family had been imposed on the French people at the point of the bayonet, and was upheld by the cannon of the allied forces. Bonaparte was an exile on a distant island in the midst of the ocean, and nearly all of his puppet kings had been dethroned. The arms of England had triumphed, but her treasury was wellnigh bankrupt. Pitt had lavished money with an unsparing hand, and had entailed an enormous debt on future generations. The people were restless and unsatisfied. They could no longer read the bulletins recording victories at sea and on the land, by which they had so long been delighted; and they, too, turned their attention to their own condition. Gigantic social evils, long-cherished abuses, financial ruin, stared them in the face. They demanded Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, a relaxation of the commercial restrictions, Parliamentary Reform; and one by one their demands were granted. Within the next thirty years, the whole financial, commercial, and representative systems of the country were changed. But these changes were not effected without violent opposition and repeated failures. Many of the questions are still fiercely debated, and many of the facts as fiercely contested. Nor have Tory writers and Tory orators yet wearied of ascribing every possible evil to the passage of the Reform Bill. Even so respectable an historian as Lord Mahon lets no opportunity slip of uttering a sad lament over that event which struck a death-blow at prescriptive injustice and corruption. Writers like Mr. Croker, who led the forlorn hope of Tory opposition when abler men wisely withdrew from the contest, still repeat their rhetorical commonplaces as confidently as if their

absurdity had not once and again been demonstrated, and still cherish the angry passions which were then excited. It is through such a tract of history, where party rancour is stirred at almost every step, that Miss Martineau has to trace her course. It is no small praise, that she so seldom deviates from the path of strict impartiality and equal justice between the two great parties.

After the assassination of Mr. Perceval, in May, 1812, some delay had been experienced in arranging a new cabinet ; but at length a ministry had been formed under Lord Liverpool, which was still in office when peace was concluded. Although it possessed only an average amount of talent, it numbered among its members several statesmen who have contrived to fill a large space in contemporary history. The place-loving Lord Eldon, the most obstinate and bigoted of modern Tories, held the chancellorship. Lord Sidmouth had the home department, — a man with so few of the qualities of an eminent statesman, that Fox had not scrupled to say of him, when he succeeded Pitt as premier, "My Lord Salisbury would make a better minister, only that he is wanted as court dancing-master." The feeble and inefficient Lord Bathurst was in the colonial office. Lord Castlereagh was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and ministerial leader in the House of Commons. The character of this nobleman has been well drawn by Lord Brougham, in his *Sketches of Statesmen in the Time of George the Third*. "Few men," says that bitter and sarcastic writer, "of more limited capacity or more meagre acquirements than Lord Castlereagh possessed, had, before his time, ever risen to any station of eminence in our free country ; fewer still have long retained it in a state where mere court intrigue and princely favor have so little to do with men's advancement. But we have lived to see men of more obscure merit than Lord Castlereagh rise to equal station in this country. Of sober and industrious habits, and become possessed of business-like talents by long experience, he was a person of the most commonplace abilities. He had a reasonable quickness of apprehension, and clearness of understanding ; but nothing brilliant or in any way admirable marked either his conceptions or his elocution." Nicholas Vansittart, an honest man, but in no other respect differing from the common herd of official personages, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The present Lord Palmerston, then known as a Tory, but now a member of a Whig ad-



ministration, was Secretary of War. The younger Robert Peel was Principal Secretary for Ireland. In the House of Lords, the Opposition was broken up into various little *squads*, respectively acknowledging the leadership of Lords Grey, Grenville, and Holland. In the House of Commons it was more concentrated, and was headed by Tierney, Brougham, Sir Samuel Romilly, and others ; but its acknowledged leader was George Ponsonby, an Irish gentleman of very moderate talents, whose chief importance arose from the position which he held.

As a matter of course, the Opposition condemned the peace, and not without reason. England had borne nearly all the expenses of the war, but she gained no adequate advantage from the peace in return for all her exertions and subsidies. Her territorial limits were unchanged, and no increased privileges of trade had been acquired. She had obtained no indemnity for the past, and no prospective benefits. In truth, the peace negotiated by Lord Castlereagh was scarcely more glorious than the peace patched up by the Addington administration, in 1802. A continuance of the war was, indeed, to be deprecated, but the national honor and the national interest were unnecessarily sacrificed in the negotiations. The ministerial address, however, was carried in both Houses by considerable majorities. But the ministers were less successful in their attempts to keep the taxes up to the war standard, and were beaten in several divisions. The general distress among all classes increased the disaffection created by the unsatisfactory character of the peace, and led to riotous assemblages and mobs in various places, which were only put down by force. Clubs were formed all over the kingdom, having a common head in London ; petitions were poured into Parliament ; and night after night the Opposition leaders attacked the ministers. Cobbett, too, fanned the excitement by his violent publications, which were scattered broadcast over the land. This noted demagogue seems to have succeeded to Wilkes's place, and was at this time a sort of popular oracle ; but the true friends of reform felt little regard for him or his noisy supporters. They labored quietly, but faithfully, in spite of the brawling partisans of anarchy with whom they were sometimes confounded. At this time there was, according to Mr. Tooke, in his *History of Prices*, "a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of

losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress." Under such circumstances, wise and moderate counsels were not likely to prevail. Nor did they.

Previously to the outbreak at Manchester, there were insurrectionary movements in various places in the agricultural and manufacturing districts ; but they were put down with little difficulty, and several of their participants were executed. The resolute, but arbitrary and tyrannical, proceedings of Lord Sidmouth alarmed the mob leaders, and Cobbett fled to this country, leaving to others the conduct of a cause which he had only injured by his violence. Yet the spirit of discontent continued as strong as ever. Early in December, 1817, the famous trials of William Hone, an obscure London bookseller, for the publication of "blasphemous and seditious libels" on the government, took place. He was tried on three separate charges, and his trials occupied as many consecutive days. He managed his own defence, and with so much skill, that, in spite of extraordinary exertions on the part of the government, he was acquitted on each trial. On the second trial, the Lord Chief Justice, Ellenborough, so far forgot the dignity of his office as to declare, "He would deliver the jury his solemn opinion, as he was required by act of Parliament to do ; and under the authority of that act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most infamous and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion." Hone's three acquittals caused great and general satisfaction, and for some time afterwards the country remained quiet and orderly. But this calm was at length broken by the imbecile proceedings of the Manchester magistrates, which raised the popular discontent to a state of feverish excitement, and led to what Lord Campbell calls "the latest violation of our free constitution, and, I believe, the last."

A meeting, for the purpose of adopting a plan of Parliamentary reform, had been called to assemble in St. Peter's Field, at Manchester, on the 16th of August, 1819. On the morning of that day, people came pouring in from the neighbouring parishes, and at an early hour the ground was

occupied by a multitude of all ages and both sexes, to the number of about eighty thousand persons. The meeting was peaceably organized by the appointment, as chairman, of Henry Hunt, a well-known demagogue, of burly form, strong lungs, unsurpassed impudence, and great volubility of language. Hunt had hardly commenced his opening harangue, when an attack was made on the congregated mass, without any previous notice, by a body of cavalry, acting under the direction of the magistrates. Men, women, and children were alike involved in the attack, and were alike trodden under foot. The field was cleared within ten minutes, but the ground was strown with the dead and wounded. Vulgar-minded persons called this the Battle of Peterloo, or the Manchester Massacre. Moderate men were more judicious, but not less severe, in their comments. The Whigs offered no apologies for the illegal acts of the Radicals, but they sharply and justly criticized the course pursued by the magistrates, who were, on the other hand, zealously supported by Lord Sidmouth and his ministerial associates. That the meeting was in itself illegal does not admit of a doubt; but the pusillanimous conduct of the magistrates is none the less reprehensible on that account. Their duty was perfectly plain and simple. They should have forbidden the meeting, and prevented its assembling, by the employment of a sufficient number of special policemen, or by calling in the military, if necessary. Instead of taking a resolute course, they appear to have adopted no settled plan of action. They allowed the multitude to assemble without a prohibition. They ordered an attack upon it without a warning. They attempted to arrest the leaders without the proper means, and when they must have known that the attempt could not succeed. The result was the death and maiming of a number of innocent persons, who were sacrificed by the ignorance and incompetency of the magistracy. Public indignation was deeply stirred throughout the country, but to little effect. Ministers summoned Parliament, and, after violent and protracted opposition, succeeded in getting through both Houses a series of unconstitutional measures, known as the Six Acts, and designed to give an almost unlimited power to the government.

The public mind had hardly become calm again after these events, when the death of George the Third gave birth to a new cause of excitement. There had been bitter personal

quarrels among the members of the reigning family in every generation since George the First came over from Germany, equally ignorant of the character, institutions, and language of the people he was to govern. The new king had married as far back as 1795, but he very soon quarrelled with his wife, separated from her, and heaped every sort of insult and injury upon her. She was now living on the Continent, closely watched by the pensioned spies of her husband. No sooner, however, did she hear of the death of her father-in-law, than she made immediate preparations to return to England, and make good her claims as wife and queen. This determination filled the king with alarm, and was hardly less fraught with difficulty and danger for the ministry. They were exceedingly unwilling to follow the directions of his Majesty, but any resistance would inevitably have caused their dismissal. Most of the Tories had heretofore taken the part of the unfortunate princess, and faithfully served her. Lord Eldon and Mr. Canning, in particular, had been among her most devoted friends and ablest counsellors. Now, things were changed. It was for their interest to support the king; and the greater part of them decided to adopt that line of policy. The Whigs, on the contrary, had upheld the Prince so long as he continued a member of their party; but when he deserted them, many felt inclined to take up the cause of his wife. The great majority, however, determined to take no part in the struggle, and remained indifferent spectators, or only occasional actors.

While matters were in this state, ministers were nearly frightened from their propriety by the discovery of what seemed a more pressing danger. This was an abortive and contemptible plot for their assassination, which has been dignified by the name of the Cato Street Conspiracy. Care was taken to magnify the importance of the discovery; and at last timid men and old women began to believe that the designs of the conspirators embraced nothing less than the burning and sacking of London, and a complete overthrow of the government. It was with the accounts of this plot as it had been with the accounts of the Popish Plot a hundred and forty years before, —

“Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies.”

The plot was doubtless bad enough, but it was represented as much worse than it really was. The facts in the case were simply these. A small number of butchers, shoe-

makers, tailors, and persons in similar walks of life, headed by one Thistlewood, a released convict, had formed a notable scheme for cutting off the heads of the ministers, and carrying them away in bags, on occasion of a cabinet dinner to be given by Lord Harrowby. Information of this design was conveyed to ministers by a miserable wretch named Edwards, a government informer, who incited the ignorant plotters to treasonable acts, and then betrayed them. His treachery was amply rewarded by ministers; and his victims were arrested, and speedily tried, condemned, and executed. The alarm excited by the government to serve its own purposes gradually subsided, but only to give place to an intenser excitement, which reached almost every family in the kingdom.

Early in June the queen arrived in England, and proceeded, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the multitude, to London, where she was cordially welcomed, and became the guest of Alderman Wood, one of the city members. On the same day a message from the king was sent down to Parliament, with the customary green bag containing the famous Report of the Milan Commissioners, and filled with all the disgusting details of sensuality and profligacy invented by perjured cooks and chambermaids to win favor at court. The discussions were postponed, in the vain hope that the public scandal of a trial and divorce might be avoided; but the negotiations signally failed. On the 5th of July, Lord Liverpool brought into the Lords a Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen, with a divorce clause. Public sympathy was at once moved to its very depths for the persecuted wife, who had even been deprived of the prayers of the Church, though she was, as Mr. Denman very happily said, still included in the prayer for "all that are desolate and oppressed"; and the indignation against the ministers knew no bounds. "Every family," says Lord Brougham, "made the cause its own. Every man, every woman, took part in the fray. Party animosities, personal differences, were suspended, to join with an injured wife against her tyrant husband." Nor were the Lords and Commons less excited than the mass of the people. On one occasion, Lord Chancellor Eldon, in answer to a humorous observation of Lord Holland, very coolly consigned the entire bench of bishops to those lower regions where Dante saw so many wicked prelates expiating their offences by condign punishments. Miss

Martineau's account of the trial is exceedingly meagre and imperfect ; but we quote a single passage, which gives a lively and correct picture of the excited state of things. She says :—

“ That summer is distinct in the memory of those who were then of mature age. It was a season of extreme heat. Horses dropped dead on the roads, and laborers in the fields. Yet, along the line of the mails, crowds stood waiting in the burning sunshine for news of the trial, and horsemen galloped over hedge and ditch to carry the tidings. In London, the parks and the West-end streets were crowded every evening ; and through the bright nights of July, neighbours were visiting one another's houses to lend newspapers, or compare rumors. The king was retired within his palace, — unable to come forth without danger of meeting the queen, or of hearing cheers in her favor. She had her two o'clock dinner-parties, — ‘ Dr. Parr and a large party,’ — now a provincial mayor, — now a country baronet, — now a popular clergyman, — come up to tender his own homage and that of his neighbours : — and then came the appearance to the people in an airing ; and, on other days, the going down to the House of Lords. Elsewhere were the Italian witnesses, — guarded like a gang of criminals as they went to and fro : pelted and groaned at wherever they were seen ; driven fast to back doors of the House of Lords, and pushed in, as for their lives. Within the House, there was the earnest attention of the Lords to the summing up of the Solicitor-General (Copley), previous to the production of the witnesses, the rushing out to see the eclipse when the pith and marrow of the matter were disposed of, and the rushing back presently during the mingling of his voice at the close with the sound of ‘ the drums and flourish, announcing the queen's arrival ’ : — and then, the reception of her Majesty, all standing as she entered and took her seat, as hitherto, on ‘ the crimson chair of state, three feet from the bar ’ : — and then the swearing in of the interpreter, and the introduction of the first witness, — at whose entrance the queen was looking another way, but on perceiving whom, she uttered an inarticulate exclamation, and hastily retired. — She had nothing to fear from this witness, however, for his evidence was, on the face of it, so ludicrously untrustworthy, that his name, Majocchi, became a joke throughout the country. The poor wretch was an admirable theme for the mob outside, in the intervals between their exhortations to the guards, and the peers, and all who passed to the House, to ‘ remember their queen,’ — ‘ remember their sisters,’ their ‘ wives,’ their ‘ daughters.’ Then there was the perplexity of underlings how to act. The sentinels at Carlton Palace, ‘ after a momentary pause, presented arms,’ as her Majesty's carriage

passed: 'the soldiers at the Treasury did not.' Daily was the fervent 'God bless her!' repeated ten thousand times, from the nearest housetop to the farthest point of vision; and daily did the accused appear 'exhausted by fatigue and anxiety,' on returning from hearing, or being informed of, the disgusting charges, the time for replying to which had not yet arrived. Those who remember that July and August, when men's minds were seared with passion or enthusiasm, and the thermometer was ranging from 80° to 90° in the shade, can always be eloquent about the summer of 1820."— pp. 257, 258.

The queen's cause was admirably and successfully managed by Brougham, her Attorney-General, and Denman, her Solicitor-General, both eminent lawyers. A great living jurist has declared that their speeches on this trial have raised the standard of forensic eloquence in England.\* She was likewise occasionally aided by the friendly assistance of Lords Grey, Erskine, and Holland. Canning, too, who had come into the ministry some time before as President of the Board of Control, refused to take part in the proceedings, and threw up his office rather than join in the persecution. After the witnesses had all unburdened themselves of the various falsehoods which their prurient imaginations had conceived, the Lords proceeded to the discussion of the bill. The second reading was only carried by a majority of twenty-eight, in a full house; and on the third reading, this majority dwindled to nine. Ministers determined to risk the thing no longer, and at once withdrew the bill. The queen had triumphed. London was brilliantly illuminated for three nights. The rejoicings extended far and wide. And now she sought to return thanks to God for bringing her out of her deep distress and affliction; but the Church again refused her its prayers. She did not long survive this cruel insult. She died on the 7th of August, 1821, in the fifty-third year of her age. Her coffin bore an inscription dictated by herself, which too well told the sad history of her life. There rested the mortal remains of "Caroline of Brunswick, the murdered Queen of England." Her body was carried in triumph through the city of London, in spite of the attempt of the soldiers to prevent it, and was accompanied to Harwich by an immense multitude, who thus testified their sense of her unmerited sufferings. Here the body was embarked for her native country.

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\* Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*.

It is certain that Caroline's conduct had not been irreproachable, — nay, more, it is certain that she had often been guilty of indiscretions and follies, which naturally aroused suspicion ; but it is almost equally certain, that she was innocent of the graver charges brought against her. Her education had been strangely mismanaged and neglected ; and she seems never to have been subjected to that coercive restraint which is so necessary in the education of children. Lord Malmesbury had well described her conduct as being very “ missish,” when he went over to arrange for her marriage with the Prince of Wales. Her character was naturally light and volatile, and she was entirely unused to the stiffness which marked the court of “ Farmer George and his wife,” as the old king and queen were familiarly called. Her very fondness for society and love of children led to ungenerous remarks and unfounded calumnies. Abroad, she had not been very particular in her choice of friends and companions, but had associated with persons of doubtful virtue, and been attended by lying servants, who betrayed whatever confidence she bestowed on them. Yet her conduct had throughout been far more correct than the conduct of her husband, who now professed a holy horror at her infidelities ; and whether she was innocent or guilty, her trial is a foul blot on the modern history of England, and a disgrace to the ministers engaged in it. It may even be doubted whether any amount of misconduct on her part would have justified them in publishing to the world the sickening details of the so-called “ Delicate Investigations,” and thereby corrupting public morals to an almost unexampled extent. Their consciences indeed revolted ; but the love of place was stronger than conscience. They yielded rather than vacate office ; and have covered their names with everlasting infamy.

They had, however, for some time felt rather unsteady in their seats, and now began to cast around for the means of strengthening themselves. At length they determined to secure the support of the followers of Lord Grenville, who was himself too old to take office. In this design they succeeded, but at the cost of comparatively a large number of offices and honors ; for the new recruits brought to the aid of government only a small amount of talents, and few votes. The news of the coalition was received by the Whigs, as it deserved to be, with a perfect storm of sneers and sarcasms. It so happened that Charles Wynn, one of the principal



leaders of the Grenvilles, was blessed with a voice of a very peculiar tone. Alluding to this circumstance, Lord Erskine said, — "Ministers are hard run, but they still have a *squeak* for it." Lord Holland was hardly less sarcastic. "All articles," said he, "are now to be had at low prices except Grenvilles." Other changes took place. Lord Sidmouth resigned the home department, and was succeeded by Mr. Peel. But the greatest blow to the ultra-Tory section of the cabinet was in the suicide of Lord Castlereagh (lately become Marquis of Londonderry), in the summer of 1822, while on his way to the Congress of Verona. Tidings of this event were received throughout England, and by the oppressed people of Europe, with a sort of fiendish exultation. As the funeral procession passed through the crowded streets of London, men hesitated not to testify their joy at the sight. And when the coffin was removed from the hearse in Westminster Abbey, the multitude gave a cheer which swept through every aisle, and penetrated every corner of that venerable edifice, whither princes and poets, statesmen and scholars, had heretofore been borne in the uninterrupted solemnities of Christian burial. Public sentiment pretty generally pointed to Mr. Canning as his successor; but Canning was personally distasteful to the king on account of his course in relation to the queen's trial, and his selection was vehemently opposed by Lord Eldon, then thought to hold a controlling influence in the government. These difficulties were finally overcome; and, a few weeks after, the seals of office were conferred upon Mr. Canning, who was actually on the point of embarking for India, to enter upon the discharge of his duties as Governor-General of that country, when he heard of Castlereagh's death. His appointment brought about further modifications in the cabinet. Vansittart was raised to the Upper House as Baron Bexley, and was succeeded in the Exchequer by Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Goderich, and at a still later period Earl of Ripon. Mr. Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade.

Peel's policy at first did not differ very materially from the policy of Lord Sidmouth; for it has been one of the most noticeable features in Peel's political life, that his opinions on almost every question have, at different periods, been diametrically opposed. But Canning and Huskisson at once tried innovations. The former had hardly been in office ten

days before he took measures to release England from the entanglements of the Holy Alliance, in which she had been involved by Castlereagh ; and in his future course he departed even more widely from the policy of that statesman. The latter began by effecting a modification in the Navigation Laws, and relieving the ship-owners from some very oppressive evils which had, in the lapse of time, grown out of those laws. He likewise greatly reduced the duties on various imported articles ; and, in general, showed a disposition to adopt a free-trade policy, solely, however, for the advantage of his own country. This is not the fitting occasion, nor are these pages the proper place, for a discussion of Mr. Huskisson's commercial policy ; but we feel compelled to record our protest against the hasty generalizations which Miss Martineau and writers of her school of political economy are so fond of drawing from its success in the present instance. We are fully convinced that Mr. Huskisson's measures, at that time, were the measures of a wise, clear-headed, far-sighted statesman, — that they were then the "one thing needful," and that they led to the rapid increase of British commerce and manufactures which has marked the last quarter of a century ; but it would be a suicidal policy for any country, in a different situation from that in which England then was, to adopt a similar system.

His measures at once produced a revival of business throughout the country. Manufactures and commerce began to flourish ; money became plenty ; new means of investment were sought ; railroads and bridges were built ; canals were dug ; innumerable joint-stock companies sprang up ; bubbles were blown into being and puffed into importance ; silly men and silly women, who knew nothing of the principles of trade, were in haste to be rich. And then, in rapid succession, came the doubt, the panic, the crisis, the crash, — the terrible revulsion which invariably follows over-trading. Distress became as widely extended as prosperity had before been. The youngest of our readers has lived long enough to see such events in our own land ; but we cannot refrain from copying Miss Martineau's vivid description of the distress in England at this time, since it is one of the finest passages in the volume.

"The hilarity and openness of heart and hand, which had made England such a sunny place a year ago, were gone ; and in-

stead, there was now the suspicion with which every man regarded his debtor and his creditor; the daily dread of the Post; the eager glance at the Gazette; the walking out to await the mail; the laying down of pony-carriage and new footman; the giving up the visit to the sea, and the subscription to the book-club and concert; and even, too often, the humbling inquiry of servants, whether they could wait awhile for their wages. The manufacturer looked round on his overloaded shelves, and for every thousand pounds' worth of goods now reckoned five hundred. The widow lady and her daughters, who had paid ready money all their lives, now found themselves without income for half a year together, and could not enjoy a meal, because the butcher's and baker's bill was running on. The dying man, who could not wait for better days, altered his will with a sigh, lessening his children's portions by one half or two thirds. Young lovers, who were to have had a jocund wedding this autumn, looked in one another's faces, and saw that it must not be thought of at present. But worse was to come.

"Here and there the failure of a commercial house was announced. First, the failures were of houses which nobody supposed to be very stable: but presently, one firm after another stopped payment;—one known to possess enormous landed estates; another to be the proprietor of rich mines; a third to have great wealth, fixed or afloat in foreign lands. In these cases, the same story was always told; that it was merely a temporary embarrassment, and that the firms possessed property far exceeding in value their entire liabilities. But so many of these embarrassments occurred, each spreading disorder over its own range of influence, that it presently became doubtful what any kind of property was really worth for any practical purpose. Then, of course, came the turn of the banks,—the securities they held for their vast and rash advances having become, for the time, little better than waste paper. In a country town, on a market-day, the aspect of the market-place was very unlike its wont. The country people were leaving their stalls, and collecting in groups, while some made haste to pack up their produce, and put to their horses, and hie home as if they expected to be robbed if they stayed. Here, a man passed with a gloomy face, and a bank-note clutched in his hand; there, a woman wrung her hands and wept; and an actual wail of many voices was heard amidst the hubbub of the place. The bank of the district had stopped payment. The hopeful went about telling all they met, that it was only for a time, and that every body would be paid at last: the desponding said, that now it had begun there was no saying where it would stop, and that every body would be ruined; and neither the hopeful nor the desponding could suggest any

thing to be done. Buying and selling came almost to a stand ; for the country people looked at every kind of bank-note as if it would burn their fingers, and thought they would rather go home than sell any thing at all. Before going home, however, all who had money in any bank ran to get it out. The run upon the banks spread from district to district ; and very soon to London ! Lombard Street was full of men of business, standing about, waiting to hear the disasters of the day, or of persons, even of great wealth, who were hastening to their bankers, to draw out their deposits. It was a time which tried the faith, and courage, and generosity of the rich. Some did not trouble their bankers by any kind of application ; and some few drove up in their carriages, and carried away heavy bags of gold, — with or without apparent shame. On the 5th of December [1825], the news spread with the speed of the wind, that the banking-house of Sir Peter Pole and Company had stopped. This must occasion many failures in the provinces, as this firm had accounts with forty-four country banks. The funds went down immediately ; and faster still next day, when the bank of Williams and Company stopped. From this time the crash went on without intermission, till, in five or six weeks, from sixty to seventy banks had stopped payment." — pp. 358, 359.

Notwithstanding the financial distress, the discontent at Mr. Huskisson's changes among different classes, the renewed agitation of the Catholic question, and the various other disturbing influences which were at work, the ministry went along smoothly enough, until it was broken up by the dangerous sickness of Lord Liverpool, in the early part of the year 1827. Without a single commanding quality of intellect, this nobleman had been premier for nearly fifteen years, and had for a much longer period held high office ; but he was now forced by an attack of apoplexy to relinquish his hold of place, and to retire from the contentions of politics. He died towards the end of the year 1828. Canning and Peel were the principal competitors for the vacant office ; and between them the choice must be made. On the 27th of March, 1827, Mr. Canning had a long interview with the king, in which he declared his fixed determination to refuse office, unless he could himself have the honors and responsibilities of first minister of the crown. His demands were acceded to ; and early in April the new ministry was announced. It was formed by a coalition between the personal friends and supporters of Mr. Canning and the great majority of the Whigs ; and its announcement was received with great

favor throughout the country. "With a unanimity which, as Lord Londonderry wisely supposes," said a strong writer at the time, "can be ascribed only to a dexterous use of the secret-service money, the able and respectable journals of the metropolis have all supported the new government. It has been attacked, on the other hand, by writers who make every cause which they espouse despicable or odious,—by one paper which owes all its notoriety to its reports of the slang uttered by drunken lads who are brought to Bow Street for breaking windows, — by another, which barely contrives to subsist on intelligence from butlers, and advertisements from perfumers. With these are joined all the scribblers who rest their claim to orthodoxy and loyalty on the perfection to which they have carried the arts of ribaldry and slander."\* Although it was, in fact, supported by the greater part of the talent of the country, the new ministry was destined to a short and troubled existence. On the 10th of May, a debate sprang up in the House of Lords, on the occasion of the presentation of some petitions against a modification of the Corn Laws. After Earl Spencer and the Whigs generally had given in their adhesion, and the Tories had furiously assailed ministers' and the coalition, the debate was closed by a speech of more than classic power from Earl Grey, which sealed the fate of the ministry and sounded the death-knell of Canning himself. Alluding to this speech, a late writer has very truly remarked:—"To find a parallel for the eloquent invective which he directed against Canning, we must go back to the days of Demosthenes; it was one gushing tide of withering sarcasm, deepened and strengthened by a melancholy nowhere definitely expressed, but everywhere present."† Even now, after the lapse of more than twenty-two years, it is impossible to read the speech without being deeply impressed by its peculiar beauty and pathos, as Grey mournfully stood up almost alone, and saw the friends and companions of his youth clustering to the support of a statesman in whom he declared he could

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\* We take this from a fierce and trenchant article in the *Edinburgh Review*, for June, 1827, on 'The Present Administration,' which has been attributed—and, we believe, on sufficient grounds—to Mr. Macaulay. The article created a great sensation at the time, and appears to have caused considerable dissatisfaction; for in the following number we find a second article sustaining the positions made in the first, but in a rather more moderate tone.

† W. Cooke Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel*.

have no confidence. It was, in truth, a solemn sight to see the venerable and revered patriot, who from the very commencement of his political life had been the consistent supporter of liberal principles, sitting on the same benches with men whose principles he thoroughly detested, and whose return to power he declared he should always oppose. Carefully reviewing Canning's whole career, and examining his foreign and domestic policy at great length, he could find no ground of confidence in the right honorable gentleman. He should, therefore, refuse him his support, while he expressly acquitted his own friends of all blame for the course which they saw fit to pursue. His speech was received with enthusiastic cheers, and had its full effect.

Little business of importance was done during the remainder of the session ; and, at the beginning of July, Parliament was prorogued. As soon as he could leave London, Canning repaired to the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick. Thither Fox had borne his feeble frame twenty-one years before, when he retired from the dust and din of party strife to breathe his last in peace ; and it was observed that Canning occupied the same room in which he died. There Canning died on the morning of the 8th of August. He had taken a severe cold at the night funeral of the Duke of York, in the preceding January, and his disease was doubtless increased by the overwhelming and crushing effect of Grey's memorable speech. The party differences between them had long since changed into personal animosity ; and a bitter quarrel had existed for years, fanned on the one side by Canning's matchless powers of wit, fanned on the other side by Grey's sarcasm and contempt. More than any one else, Canning had reviled and slandered Fox, — " the man," said Grey, on the floor of Parliament, in May, 1817, " whom, in public life, I most loved and admired " ; and Grey did not readily forget the insult heaped on his friend. When it was first announced that Hone was to be prosecuted for his " blasphemous parodies," Grey had risen in the House of Lords, and, repeating a portion of Canning's famous parody, " Praise Lepaux," inquired whether the author or authors of that and similar parodies, whether in or out of the cabinet, would likewise be prosecuted and brought to trial. Such an inquiry, at such a time, must have long rankled in Canning's breast. He, too, had never let an opportunity slip of winging his arrows at his adversary ; but in this conflict he proved

the weaker man, and fell a victim to his own rashness in provoking the conflict. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the feet of the younger Pitt, in the only spot of ground in Poets' Corner which was unoccupied.

Miss Martineau entertains so great an admiration of Canning, that she has done considerable injustice to Grey in her account of Canning's short-lived administration. Indeed, her chapter on this subject is, upon the whole, the most objectionable passage in the volume. Not satisfied with stigmatizing Grey as Canning's "arch foe," — an elegant epithet, which she elsewhere applies to the Duke of York, — she even misrepresents his speech, as characterized by "the most intense personal animosity," as being a "striking and mournful instance of the effect of prejudice in blinding one great man to the merits of another," and as being "so insolent, hard, and cold, so insulting, and so cruel." We regret that she should thus confound the spotless purity of Grey's intentions and acts with the unrelenting hostility of the ex-ministers and their followers, — men with whom he had hardly a single sentiment in common. It was to them, and not to Grey, that the Viscountess Canning referred, when she afterwards reproached Mr. Huskisson with joining "the murderers of his friend, her husband." Grey's position was a peculiarly painful position. He had been brought up at the feet of Mr. Fox, had drunk in a love of freedom as he listened to the familiar conversation of that great statesman, had always been a Whig since he entered Parliament, and had never, for one moment, swerved from a strict devotion to the cause of the people. Yet he now saw himself deserted for one who had been Mr. Pitt's warmest supporter when Pitt's every effort was employed to crush the friends of popular liberty, and who had always upheld Pitt's arbitrary measures. It was natural that he should feel some distrust of Canning's new-born zeal for liberal principles. It was proper that he should say so ; for he was the last of those great men whose names have immortalized the previous generation, and he had long been one of the most prominent leaders of his party. Situated as Grey was, it is not easy to discover what other ground he could consistently or properly have taken. There is no reason whatever for insinuating that he was "blinded by prejudice," or for casting any unworthy imputation on his course. His whole life bears witness to the rare excellence of his character ; and it was to his uprightness that his early

failure as a politician, to which he touchingly alluded in his speech, is directly to be traced.

On the death of Mr. Canning, Lord Goderich succeeded to the premiership, without any other change in the cabinet ; but he was miserably unfit for the office, and it was remarked that his administration was the weakest which had been known in England for many years. When Chancellor of the Exchequer he had made himself the jest of every one by his ludicrous blunders in opening the budget, and had been dubbed "Prosperity Robinson" by the Parliamentary wits on account of his inability to distinguish between the increase and the diminution of the national debt. He showed as little ability as prime minister as he had exhibited in his less responsible position ; and hastily retreated from office when difficulties began to thicken around him. He dared not face Parliament after the battle of Navarino, and his ministry at once split into fragments. The Duke of Wellington was next empowered to form an administration. The ministry of which he became the head was constituted in nearly the same manner as that which was in power when Lord Liverpool lost the use of his mental faculties. Lord Lyndhurst, however, a moderate Tory, had the chancellorship in place of Lord Eldon, who had held the Great Seal longer than any of his predecessors since the half-fabulous days of Saint Swithin. Lord Dudley, a blundering statesman who soon after became insane, was Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Most of the other offices were filled as they had been on the former occasion.

The new ministry commenced its labors under happy auspices for the cause of civil and religious liberty. Towards the end of February, 1828, Lord John Russell moved in the House of Commons for a committee to take into consideration the expediency of repealing the Corporation and Test Acts, under which the Dissenters had groaned ever since the time of Charles the Second. Their repeal was at first feebly opposed by the ministry, but was at length taken up as a government measure ; and a bill, abrogating the Dissenters' disabilities was triumphantly carried through both Houses, in spite of the untiring opposition of Lord Eldon, who only once or twice in the whole course of his life favored any reform. The passage of this important and noble measure is mainly due to the exertions of Lord John Russell and his friends, although it is pretty certain that it could not have



been carried at this time without the aid of government. The Whigs had uniformly been friendly to the Dissenters; and as early as May, 1792, Mr. Fox had asked leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the Unitarians, which was opposed by Burke. The Tories, on the other hand, had just as uniformly opposed every measure for their relief. Canning himself, although an advocate of Catholic Emancipation, had always opposed granting any relief to the Dissenters. Miss Martineau finds it very hard to understand why Canning took this course. Yet it was openly declared in Parliament and out of Parliament at the time, that Canning refused to relieve the Dissenters because he desired them to make common cause with the Catholics. If he could not carry Catholic Emancipation, he would not help the Dissenters. Such were Canning's ideas of liberal principles. Such were not Grey's ideas of liberal principles.

The passage of this bill was followed by the resignation of Mr. Huskisson, in consequence of a personal misunderstanding with the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Huskisson was followed in his retirement by all the liberal members of the cabinet; and their places were filled with undoubted Tories. But the time for old-fashioned measures had passed. The repeal of the Dissenters' disabilities had opened the way for Catholic Emancipation. This great question had agitated the nation for many years. For the last thirty-five years it had made and unmade cabinets. It had kept one set of men in office. It had kept another set of men out of office. It had driven Mr. Pitt from the premiership. It had driven George the Third crazy. It had disturbed all classes in society and both sexes. High Churchwomen had imprisoned their husbands at home to prevent them from voting in favor of the Catholics; and Lord Eldon's favorite toast for several days was,—"The ladies who locked up their husbands." Things, however, had gone too far to be stopped by the ex-chancellor and his female supporters. Peel saw which way the current was tending, and turned a political somerser, as he had often done before, and has often done since. The unwearied opponent of Emancipation came up the fast friend of the Catholics. Never had there been a more remarkable or a more beneficial change in any man's politics. On the 5th of March, 1829, Peel brought forward the Catholic Relief Bill. The measure was fiercely opposed by the ultra-Tories, who plainly foresaw the downfall of "the true Prot-

estant religion," and a long catalogue of calamities too dreadful to be mentioned. Sir Charles Wetherell, the Attorney-General, who had refused to have any thing to do with the preparation of the bill, made himself particularly ridiculous by the violence of his language and gestures. In the first of his two speeches against the bill his passion rose to such a height, that there was reason to fear his clothes would drop from his back. Thereupon Mr. Manners Sutton, the Speaker of the House of Commons, remarked : — "The only lucid interval in the speech was the interval between the orator's waistcoat and breeches." But all opposition was unavailing. The bill passed both houses by large majorities, received the royal sanction as soon as presented, and became law, to the great alarm and regret of Lord Eldon, and those who agreed in sentiment with him.

No one will suppose we feel any undue bias towards the Romish faith or the Romish ritual ; but we cannot record the triumph of this great measure for removing the civil disabilities of the Catholics without a feeling of profound satisfaction. While we are satisfied that those disabilities were in the first instance rightly imposed, we are equally satisfied that the time for their continuance had long since passed. There had been a time when it was necessary, for the preservation of the political liberties of England, that Catholics should be excluded from all offices of trust ; but more than a century had elapsed since that time, and it was absurd to keep up the restrictions. When the Catholic Relief Bill was brought in, the Catholics were to all intents and purposes excluded from the public service, and the statute-books were loaded with oppressive acts, designed to keep them in a virtual state of servitude. Many of these acts dated back to the time of Charles the Second, when the unprincipled character of James, Duke of York, was ill calculated to recommend his religion to popular favor. But these disabilities were all swept away by the Relief Bill ; and the heir of the princely house of Howard, who could trace his ancestry, in an unbroken line, back to the fourteenth century, could once more sit and deliberate in the House of Lords, and there behold the tapestried representation of that ancestor who had so gallantly commanded the British fleet, when men grew pale at the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada. There, too, might others sit, less illustrious than he, but whose names were still cherished by the student of English history.

Catholic Emancipation was the last important measure of the reign of George the Fourth. The king had ruined his health by his early excesses and dissipation, and had increased his bodily infirmities by the nervous excitement and childish fits of passion to which he had been subject during the discussion of the Relief Bill. He died on the 26th of June, 1830, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. During the latter part of his reign, he had sought no opportunities of making himself popular, had held no court, had attended no reviews, had not even opened Parliament in person, had rarely shown himself in public, and had kept secluded within the limits of his own palace. People felt rather glad than otherwise when he was dead. The day of his funeral was kept as a holiday. The outward signs of grief were hardly anywhere seen; and even the customary court mourning was confined to a very small number of persons.

Miss Martineau has given a pretty fair summing up of the character of this reign. She says : —

“At the close of the first reign since the Peace, it is easy to see that a great improvement in the national welfare had taken place, though the period was in itself one of gloom and agitation. The old Tory rule was broken up, like an ice-field in spring, and the winds were all abroad to prevent its reuniting. There were obstacles ahead, but so many were floating away behind that the expectations of progress were clear and strong. On every account it was a good thing that the old Tory rule was broken up, but chiefly for this, that when the thing was done, by the strong compulsion of fact, of necessity men were beginning to look for the principle of the change, and thereby to obtain some insight into the views of the parties that had governed, or would or might govern, the country. Men began to have some practical conception that the Tories thought it their duty to govern the people (for their good) as a disposable property; that the Whigs thought it their duty to govern, as trustees of the nation, according to their own discretion [this is not exactly true]; and that there were persons living and effectually moving in the world of politics, [the Radicals, whose principal organ was the *Westminster Review*,] who thought that the people ought to govern themselves through the House of Commons. This perception once awakened, a new time had from that moment begun, of which we are, at this day, very far from seeing the end. With the departure of George the Fourth into the region of the past, we are taking leave of the old time; and can almost join in even Lord Eldon's declarations about the passing away of the things that had been, and the incoming of a

new and portentous age of the national history ; though we do not sympathize in his terrors and regrets, nor agree with him, that what had been dropped was that which should have been retained, and that whatever should supervene was to be deprecated because it was new. We have, what the old Tories have not and cannot conceive of, the deepest satisfaction in every proof that the national soul is alive and awake, that the national mind is up and stirring. There was proof of this at the close of this reign, in what had been done, and in what was clearly about to be done ; and this trumpet-call to advance was heard above loud groans of suffering and deep sighs of depression, and the nation marshalled itself for the advance accordingly.

“ As for the facts of what had been done, the old Tory rule by hereditary custom, or an understanding among the ‘ great families ’ whom Mr. Canning so mortally offended, was broken up. Exclusion from social right and privilege, on account of religious opinion, was broken up ; that is, the system was, as a whole, though some partial exclusion remained, and remains to this day. In the same manner, the system of commercial restriction was broken up, though, in practice, monopoly was as yet far more extensive than liberty of commerce. Slavery was brought up for trial at the tribunal of the national conscience ; and, whatever might be the issue, impunity, at least, was at an end. The delusion of the perfection of existing law was at an end ; and the national conscience was appealed to to denounce legal vengeance and cruelty, to substitute justice in their place. Hope had dawned for the most miserable classes of society ; for, while some of the first men in the nation were contending for an amelioration of the criminal law in Parliament, one of the first women of her time was going through the prisons to watch over and enlighten the victims of sin and ignorance. The admission of a new order of men into the cabinet ; the bending of the old order, even of the Iron Duke himself, to their policy ; the emancipation of Dissenters and Catholics ; the adoption of some measures on behalf of slaves ; the partial adoption of free trade ; the continued ameliorations of the criminal law through the efforts of Sir S. Romilly, Mr. Peel, and Sir James Mackintosh ; and the interest excited in the condition of prisoners by the exertions of Mrs. Fry, — are features in the domestic policy of England which must mark for ever as illustrious the first reign succeeding the Peace.” — pp. 555, 556.

Certainly, the fifteen years over which Miss Martineau’s first volume extends were marked by a great progress in popular liberty ; but they dwindle into insignificance when compared with the next period of fifteen years. The first

years of the new reign were to witness a greater Parliamentary battle than any that had been fought in England since the memorable debates which preceded the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole. The way had been prepared for victory, and even now men were girding themselves for the conflict. The Whigs had relieved the Dissenters and emancipated the Catholics ; and now they could turn their whole energies to securing Parliamentary Reform. A few “rotten boroughs” had already been disfranchised ; but it was reserved for Charles, Earl Grey, to give the finishing stroke to a corrupt system. His administration was to be made famous through all coming time by the greatest political event in English history since the Revolution of 1688, with the single exception of the loss of the American colonies. The direct consequences of the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 cannot now be fully measured. But we may rest assured it is the only thing that has saved England from the terrible revolutions which have agitated the rest of Europe for the last year and a half.

C. C. S.

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ART. III. — EXPOSITION OF ST. MATTHEW XVIII. 15 – 18.

CHRIST perpetually “took the things of God and showed them unto men.” His rules of duty are never mere rules, but the application of great principles. Nor are his principles adapted merely to the condition of man upon earth, — they are the mind of God and the law of heaven. He prescribes for us the exercise of such sentiments and affections as pervade and govern the divine administration. His precepts might all be expressed in that of the Apostle, — “Be ye followers of God as dear children.” Thus, in all our social relations, the example of God is constantly held before us, both as the rule and the motive of duty, — we are bidden to forgive as he forgives, and to love as he loves. The passage which we propose to expound in the present article derives peculiar interest and importance from the coincidence of the process prescribed in the case of an offending brother with the divine plan. It is by like successive steps that God deals with the transgressor of his law.

When we enter upon any sinful course, God first “tells

us our fault between us and him alone." He might have so adjusted the complex framework of body and soul, and so arranged the conditions of life, that every thought should paint itself on the countenance, and every germ of evil desire, every first step in the way of transgressors, put us to open shame. But it is not so. The thoughts, desires, and purposes which may at length disgrace us before men ripen gradually in our hearts, and our first timid steps in the downward path hardly arrest the notice of the most watchful human friend. But God tells us of them. His inward monitor pleads against them. His daily mercy cries reproach upon them. His spirit, still unquenched, preaches repentance. Day after day his written law, Sabbath after Sabbath the voices of the sanctuary, cry, "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" Protracted and earnest are the ministries by which he calls us back to duty and promises pardon. And if we heed them our sin goes no farther. We stand among our brethren as the sinless might stand. Not only is our "iniquity forgiven," but our "sin is covered." How many must there be, who have thus been in the most imminent moral danger, but no mortal ever knew it; for they heard the voice of God in secret, and suffered him to call them back to honor, duty, and happiness.

But suppose that we go a step farther in evil, so that our sin assumes forms which cannot escape human observation. Still, at first, it commonly arrests the regards of but very few, and those our nearest kindred or our most watchful friends. To them God in his providence imparts the portentous secret, taking them with him as his "two or three witnesses"; and their entreaties, warnings, and remonstrances are added to the pleadings of his spirit. Their love, it may be, prevails, and we are saved. It is not till we have set them at naught that he tells the matter to the "congregation,"\* — makes it public. And even when this is done, there is hope for us. Other voices of expostulation and admonition reach us. There are many too kind, too hopeful, to abandon us. There is space for us to retrace our steps, and to recover our position among the good. If we "hear

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\* We hardly need say that the word here and so often rendered *church* in our English version denotes, in general, a public assembly of whatever kind, and, in its more restricted sense, a congregation of Jewish or Christian worshippers, — never a body of Christian communicants considered as distinct from their fellow-worshippers.

the congregation," if the first whispers of general shame or censure arouse slumbering conscience and awaken true repentance, the handwriting of our condemnation is erased, and we are saved "as a brand from the burning." But if every appeal fails, God then suffers us to take the stand and bear the reproach of "a heathen man, or a publican." We no longer have any hold upon, or connection with, the virtuous and God-serving. We openly bear the mark and wear the livery of a very different master ; nor is there any law of God which forbids or prevents men's calling us by that master's name, — designating us as the willing slaves of the sin that we now choose and love. Yet even at the worst, the heathen and the publican, though they must bear the reproach while they continue to deserve it, are not absolutely cut off from the Divine mercy, for God welcomes the prodigal back though it is as a prodigal, and sends his Son to seek and save the lost, though it is as the lost that he saves them. But there is, under the government of God, a class of distinctly marked, determined, habitual offenders ; and this class consists of those who will hear neither God, nor the two or three witnesses, nor the congregation. Such is the divine forbearance, that, till one has passed all these grades of contumacy, his evil moral position is not fixed.

The passage under discussion has been sadly misapprehended, in having been regarded as propounding a set of technical rules for church discipline, — not as an embodiment of the great law of godlike forbearance and long-suffering. The spirit of these injunctions of Christ has often been grossly violated, where there has been the utmost care to keep close to their letter. We have known instances in which a Christian church has been turned into a permanent court of judicature, brother all the time going to law with brother, and that *not* before unbelievers, and ecclesiastical censures and excommunications are launched against offences which the slightest infusion of charity might have healed. We have known in such cases the prosecuting party to hurry through the successive technical steps supposed to be pointed out by Christ, even as a giant rejoices to run his race, and to make the three succeed each other as rapidly as the formal readings of a bill on the last day of a session of Congress, in order to hasten on the excitement of an ecclesiastical trial and the scandal of a sentence of suspension or excision. Nothing could be more alien from the spirit of these instructions. Those who never

tell any thing to the Church act in much nearer accordance with their true import, as we shall now endeavour to show.

In our Saviour's time it was customary for the Jews to carry their domestic and social quarrels directly into the synagogue; and any one who thought himself aggrieved by his neighbour, nay, by his wife or child, could procure the offender's name to be called out in the synagogue, with epithets of reproach and contumely on the very next Sabbath. Thus social wounds were seldom healed, and, offence once given, it was hardly possible for reconciliation to take place. It was this state of things (which is almost reproduced by what in modern times is called active church discipline) that our Saviour meant to obviate in the discourse now under review. He has just been pleading in behalf of the more frail and feeble members, the "little ones" of his flock, and the words immediately preceding this passage are, "It is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish"; while it is followed by the parable of the servant who refused to remit the debt of a hundred pence to his fellow-servant, when his master had released him from a debt of a thousand talents. It is, as we have indicated, against the vicious habit of carrying private broils into the synagogue, and making private offences public, that our Saviour gave the directions, of which we offer the following paraphrase:—

"Offences no doubt must come among you. Be it your aim to cover and to heal them. Keep them then private, till you can do so no longer. Leave no mode of reconciliation untried. If your brother commits an offence against you, let it at first remain a secret between you and him. Go to him in a kind and loving spirit. Talk over the matter with him alone. Your forbearance and magnanimity will very probably induce him promptly to make the explanation of reparation that is your due. It may have been on his part a mere misunderstanding, which you can easily set right. It may have been some wayward impulse of which he already repents, and which your kindness will at once lead him to confess. By this course you may gain your brother,—may make him more your brother than before. But if you fail, procure the aid of one or two common friends. Let them, if they can, reconcile you and him; or, at least, let them be witnesses and helpers of your placable spirit. If their efforts fail, and if they think you wholly in the right and him wholly in the wrong, you may then let the matter become more generally known; for the difference between you cannot remain hidden,



and it is only justice to your character that your fellow-Christians should know who is the offending party, and how earnestly and patiently you have sought reconciliation. And if you are really in the right, and he in the wrong, there is hope that the expression of a more general opinion, which will thus reach him, will lead him to accept the overtures towards reconciliation which he has hitherto declined. But if he will not hear the congregation, [the *church*, either the general opinion of its members, or their joint efforts as a body of Christian believers to bring him to a sense of his wrong.] then may you fittingly regard such a man as you now regard the heathen and the publicans; that is, he has forfeited your confidence, has shown himself unworthy the name of a disciple, — he is one with whom you cannot live peaceably, and you should therefore refrain from his society so long as he retains his wrong feelings towards you. You are still to wish him well, to pray for him, to do him good if you have opportunity, to cherish no hostile sentiments toward him. But there are those who can be, and those who cannot be, made subjects of Christian fellowship; and to this latter class belongs the person, whom neither the brother that he has offended, their common friends, nor the whole brotherhood with which they are associated, can bring to meet the demands of justice. Let, then, your terms of fellowship be broad and catholic. Retain all that you can within the pale of brotherhood. Cut off those only who cut themselves off by their unbrotherly contumacy. If you administer the offices of religious fellowship in this open-hearted, forbearing, liberal spirit, your doings will be ratified in heaven. What you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, what you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. [To *bind* and to *loose* are words used with reference to the door of an apartment, and metaphorically with reference to the doors of the *church*, or the Christian brotherhood, denoting to *fasten* and to *unfasten*, and thence to *exclude* and to *admit*, or *restore*.] The hasty denunciations and excommunications of the synagogue are mere outbreaks of unholy passion, and are not ratified on high. But if you pursue this forbearing, long-suffering course towards the offending, and after all are obliged to exclude any from your fellowship, their exclusion will be sanctioned in heaven, — you can shut out none whom God would have you keep, while the offending, whom by this course you restore, will be such as God would have you keep. Thus may the gates of the visible Church open and shut simultaneously with those of the invisible, of which God holds the key."

Such, it seems to us, is the true and obvious sense of these words. It is at the farthest possible remove from authorizing the system of mutual *espionage* commonly called *church discipline*, which drags every matter of personal offence

and scandal before the whole body of believers. We grant that it might sanction, or at least permit, an appeal to the church collectively in the last resort, but not till every Christian means of reconciliation has been tried, first in profound secrecy between the offended and the offending party, and then with the privity of those only who can best aid in effecting an amicable adjustment. But were these steps first taken in their true spirit, the occasion for an appeal to the church could hardly ever occur, and the need of any established rules or system of church discipline would not be felt once in a generation.

The passage on which we have made these comments had primary reference to customs peculiar to the Jews. But it embodies principles no less applicable to our own times than to the infancy of the Church; and we will now endeavour with all possible brevity to state and illustrate these principles.

1. Our Saviour makes it the duty of the offended party to take the first step towards reconciliation. This is not the way of the world. This is not the morality of the street or the forum. This is not the dictate of pride or unsanctified resentment. But it is God's way with us. When we have sinned, the Father comes forth to meet us,—inspires the will, supplies the strength, for our return to him. His continued goodness leads us to repentance. Did he withdraw his mercy in consequence of our sin, did he wait in unreconciled anger for us to prostrate ourselves in contrite submission, what man is there who would be at this time within reach of salvation? There are many reasons why the offended party should first seek reconciliation. It may be that the offence was unintentionally and unconsciously given, and the offending brother at the outset knows not that we are offended, and may long be ignorant why, be surprised at our coldness, and himself be as much wounded as we are. A very large part of the offences which are given and taken are of this class,—literally mere *misunderstandings*, demanding only explanation, and not even concession or apology; and often what is deemed a very grave offence (and it seems impossible that it could be otherwise) proves to be nothing more than this. In such a case, the overture towards an explanation must be made by the party that knows what there is that needs to be explained. But has our brother really wronged us? He may have done so without the consciousness of wrong. He may have re-

ported of us untruths which he believed to be true. He may have prosecuted his imagined rights to the prejudice of our real rights, and yet not have fully known what our rights were. He may have grossly misjudged our motives or our conduct, and yet not have meant to be unjust. In this case, we, knowing that he is wrong, and having the means of setting him right, are called upon to vindicate ourselves with him, and to reconcile him with ourselves ; while he, believing that he is right, may not feel called upon in conscience to take any such steps toward us. Again, our brother may have wilfully and wantonly wronged us in speech or deed. If so, he has violated his own moral nature, but not ours. He has made himself a sinner, but not us. He ought not by such a course to have robbed us of a single Christian attribute or feeling. We are the morally sound and healthy party of the two ; and, if the wound is to be healed, we, the healthy, and not he, the diseased party, must be the physician. He, without a decided change of disposition, without sincere repentance, will not acknowledge his wrong. But our kind approaches, our reconciling overtures, our proffered forgiveness, are means of divine appointment and efficiency to bring him to repentance. Moreover, he, of the two, is the object of pity, of compassion. Not he that suffers, but he that does the wrong, is the real victim. He is the sinner whom God commissions us to save. In the very relation which has brought us together as injured and injurer, God makes him our neighbour, and commends him to our Christian offices.

2. The spirit of the instructions which we have had under discussion would also forbid our giving publicity to the injury done us, so long as we can keep it private, and hope for repentance and reparation from the offending party. In common life is not this principle violated with lamentable frequency ? When we are injured, or think that we are, we may not indeed tell the church collectively, but we tell them individually. The offender may be the very last to hear of the imagined wrong. We proclaim the fact to his injury, and excite against him the censure and disesteem of others. The tale spreads, and grows as it spreads. Every careless, every gossiping, every envious tongue adds something of its own. The molehill towers into a mountain. The originally offending thus becomes the injured party, and acquires the rights of the injured. Then harsh and bitter things are said

and done on both sides, and reported in exaggerated forms from each to the other, till the enmity becomes flagrant and irreconcilable, presenting a living commentary on the text, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth!" The fire might at first have been smothered by the hand; but it now rages fiercely enough to verify what St. James says of such conflagrations, that they are "set on fire of hell." As we have said, were Christian modes adopted at the outset, few would be the cases, and none among the fair-minded and well-disposed, none among Christians worthy of the name, in which there would be need to give publicity to a real or imagined wrong or injury. The only motive which can authorize such a step is justice to our own character, influence, or usefulness, when every private mode of obtaining explanation or redress has been tried and failed. He who would compel us to such a course is no better than a heathen. No secret ought to be so sacred as that of a social wrong, for which we have not yet sought redress by Christian means; and, were such secrets kept, how would the censorious tongue be paralyzed, and those rills of calumny, which wind their serpent path from house to house, and separate very friends, be dried up!

3. Finally, the passage which has been the subject of these remarks breathes, over and above specific rules, the spirit of patient forbearance and cordial forgiveness, of that charity which "believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." That it was so regarded by those who heard it is evident from Peter's question, asked immediately afterwards, "*How often* shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?" And in harmony with the words that had just fallen from his lips, Jesus replies, "I say not unto thee, till seven times, but until seventy times seven." The spirit quick to resent and slow to forgive may seem strong, but, in reality, only betrays its weakness and its poverty. It is not its own keeper. It is at the mercy of the injurious and calumnious. Its peace and happiness are never secure for a moment. The truly great spirit is incapable of injury from without. The shafts of malice, calumny, and envy recoil and drop from it, as weak weapons from a well-proved shield. Forgiveness is the mark of a soul that can be harmed, not in its own essential nature, but only in circumstances which it can outlive and look down upon. The time is hastening on, when

the best of us must appear disembodied spirits before the eternal throne, conscious of the sins that preceded and accompanied our purest hours and most devoted obedience, not to claim, but to implore, pardon and acceptance. There is one petition, offered in form as often as we pray, in our Saviour's words, which we shall then wish to offer, in full consciousness and in deep sincerity of soul, — "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who have trespassed against us." Let us, by forbearance, forgiveness, and mercy in our earthly relations, keep open what will be our only sanctuary of hope, our only avenue of mercy, when we pass the gates of death, and cast ourselves for eternity on the Divine compassion !

A. P. P.

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#### ART. IV. — WHIPPLE'S LECTURES ON LITERATURE AND LIFE.\*

THE author of this volume is conspicuous among those who have owned and paid largely to literature the debt which we cannot see how they ever incurred. With slender early advantages, he has climbed to the heights of scholarship and placed himself in the front rank both of public lecturers and of living authors. Free from the conceit which is apt to fix upon the self-taught, he with modest, patient labor goes on making his large and frequent contributions to that cause of sound learning in which the best interests of man are involved. We repeat to him, in his new appearance, the welcome given by this journal to the publication of his former work. We do not, however, now intend so much to go into an examination of the style or sentiments expressed in these Lectures, as to characterize, if we may, the faculty that distinguishes their author, — to estimate the nature and importance of his gift, and the whole exercise he makes of it.

Mr. Whipple is peculiarly and eminently a critic. In saying this we express no doubt of the original and creative capacity of his mind. He has given incidental proof that he might take no ordinary position as an historian, or a worker in the mercurial mines of speculative philosophy, or perhaps as

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\* *Lectures on Subjects connected with Literature and Life.* By E. P. Whipple. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1849. 16mo. pp. 218.

a poet of human life and manners. But he has chosen wisely at least to begin his career with a function which he discharges with so much ability and admirable truth. He is a critic, and, to say the least, very prominent among the critics of our country and time. He has often been compared with Macaulay. But simply as a literary critic, we must regard him as superior to that marvellous writer, who has carried an imperial strength of will and all the verbal weapons of war into the cogent reasoning and among the clear crystal thoughts of his printed page.

Nor do we think lightly of this function of the critic. Such an exponent or middle-man is needed to stand between the perhaps ignorant, unwary reader and the host of authors with the mass of books, the heaped deposit from the tide of the past, or the late issue of the now double-speeder of the press. We require a guide in this vast and strange land of thought and fancy, that we may not lose time or be ourselves lost. Often has the producer of intellectual beauty and wisdom been indebted to the critic for a quicker and wider introduction to the public, and the public indebted to him for clearing the house of idlers, thieves, indecent persons, and disturbers of the peace. Criticism itself has indeed often been unjust and malignant, or false and flattering, or fulsome and blind. But only all the more has it been necessary that the true critic should "come and search" his unworthy neighbour, while, in the general result, the truth is told to the guidance and advantage of those who hear.

The man who plainly and nobly fills this office is a benefactor deserving our special gratitude. "Art is long and individual life" too "short" to retrace her steps or receive all her productions. We should probably be amazed by a just statement of the degree to which the so-called learned class themselves owe their impressions of great works and world-renowned authors to the references in essays and the columns of reviews. The periodical writer is the representative even of the princes of knowledge, in foreign places and to distant times. Aristotle and Plato, Plutarch and Cicero, seldom appear but as led in through translations, quotations, and commentaries. The false and prejudiced reporter of the great genius which has come for a blessing to humanity is thus an arch-deceiver, akin to those of whom Job speaks, who "talk deceitfully for God." The lie that is told with pen and type has always a sublimity of wicked-

ness about it, as, like the diabolic whisper, it exercises a pervading power to mislead thousands together, while the tongue can usually mislead but one or few at a time. The critic should, therefore, be held to a strict responsibility, and, if vile motives prompt him to misrepresentation, he charged with aggravated guilt. But when he is faithful and candid in his business, which is to make a second comment on that which is itself a commentary on nature and life, he shares largely in the author's own merit. He preserves from age to age the bestowments of genius. He bears along what is most costly and useful in that freight of knowledge, something of which no care can keep from being lost by the way, but which this wondrous vessel of literature so largely contains. He dives for pearls in the mighty deep of learning, and brings up many a jewel which would else have been unseen. He unburies a treasure of wisdom more precious than all that is disinterred from old Nineveh, or overwhelmed Pompeii.

Mr. Whipple, judged with reference to this ideal standard, is found as little wanting as any one with whose efforts we are acquainted. His conscience is clean. His decisions are kindly and good-humored when severe. There is no drop of gall or acid in his heart. His pen does not poison when it wounds. Withal, he has the pure critical talent in uncommon perfection. As much as the poet has "the vision and the faculty divine," he has the power to appreciate it and every kind of faculty. His mind, like dendritic minerals, bears an exact print and likeness of real objects. His touch seems to detect the qualities of an author more infallibly than could an elaborate search. We hear of a physician who discovers whatever disease one may be afflicted with by passing his hand lightly over the skin. Such is this literary or intellectual tact which seems to penetrate the heart by means alone of the surface. The slightest shades of sense, the most delicate varieties of talent, with every symptom and cause of mental health and unsoundness, are revealed to it as to a sure instinct. Sometimes this critical gift seems a keen penetration, going into the soul of its object, sometimes a passive receiving of the traits it studies, as of lines upon a map, or of the sun-painted daguerreotype upon the silvered plate, and sometimes a genial reproduction and a dramatic, almost passionate, enactment of the character surveyed. It sees like Homer, sketches like Dante, conceives like Shakspeare.

This critical insight, drawing, or re-creation, we think Mr. Whipple largely evinces. He is one of those who, by native organization or acquired skill, possess something of that "discerning of spirits" once bestowed as an extraordinary gift. Or rather by intellectual assimilation of every excellent quality from the thousand displays of genius he has witnessed and admired, he knows real merit by an inward evidence of likeness and sympathy, as the needle knows the pole. The only divining-rod for intellectual treasure is a kindred and apprehensive spirit. Better than all opinion or logical demonstration, this will detect every species and measure of genuine worth. Subtile as the love caused by affinity of nature is the appreciation which discovers the friends of our virtue and the brethren of our minds. This power of immediate perception and just esteem is everywhere apparent in Mr. Whipple's writings, and we do not see that it is warped by any personal grudge or narrow prejudice. If he ever exceeds in the generosity of the tribute he pays, he never enviously abates from what is justly due, and he takes the law by which his sentence is pronounced from no little circle or clanship of taste, but from the broad reason of things. Exceptions may undoubtedly be taken to the judgments he has expressed about one or another of the great troop of authors that have passed under his eye, — for our conclusions in literature partake, of course, of the diversities of our minds and characters, — and few things are more decided, and even violent, than the favoritisms, the partisan likes and dislikes, which are born of authorship. Our general estimate, in this case, arises, not from a friendly prepossession for a worthy laborer in the great vineyard where is room for all, but from a somewhat close, and we hope conscientious examination of the spot and the fruit of his toil.

It might be interesting to inquire what combination of intellectual and spiritual tendencies should produce or be the condition of this competency for the work of criticism, — what may fit one to sit in this assaying and refining of the precious metal of thought; or what ingredients compose this test and touchstone, under whose application all the qualities, however various or hidden, in a so complex product of the human brain, start up in their true proportions and real character. The abstract problem is too great and recondite for our present room and purpose. Yet we may handle it briefly and concretely in connection with our author's own qualities.



One requisite evidently is a large and generous mind, a broad and accurate observation of men and things, a mirror of such clearness and size, that the images of all reality may rest in it without contraction or distortion. But there must be something more than this open-eyed fairness of look and purpose. What is rational and spiritual is not reflected in glass, nor in a plain, prosaic understanding, but only in the depths of a living soul, that apprehends and embraces with a fellow-feeling all intellectual and moral grandeur, nobleness, and purity. Both sides of what the metaphysicians intend by their distinction of subjective and objective must belong to the true critical judge. Like the tree Virgil speaks of, tending with its roots as deep to the centre as it flings its branches far abroad into the heavens, must be the profoundness of his meditation, answering to the stretch and distance of his outward gaze. And, at whatever point this interior capacity falls short, a crude and ignorant dogmatism will mark his conclusions about particular authors and works.

Mr. Whipple seems to us to have and to be qualified by this twofold nature and attainment. He is no transcendent mystic, his eye so introverted as to be blind to the objects passing before it,—while he gazes at the stars of the inner firmament, falling into a pit in his earthly path. Neither is he a superficial empiric, determining all by external sense and material dimension. His intuitions are wedded to experience, his ideas illustrated or suggested by facts, his soul disciplined by duty, his intellect trained by business and life. He evidently delights in keen analysis, in subtle distinctions, in the clamberings of an abstruse logic, in the dizzy peaks and altitudes of the previous questions and fundamental problems of thought, following after the chamois-footed explorer with an alertness and agility emulous of his own. And yet he is even more at home, with an ampler domain, in the region of historical varieties, biographical incidents, and significant events. All the streams of learning seem to have poured a rich alluvion over the native soil of his mind. Like the beds of Californian rivers, and the crevices of rocks that have caught all the gold flowing down in grains for ages, so has he gathered the riches of the most ancient literature. No virtuoso's cabinet is more highly adorned with articles rich and rare than are the chambers of his memory with the finest thoughts and sayings, "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Yet his mind has not, as is so often the case,

grown hard and stiff with this firm and unrelaxing grasp of recollection, but has combined therewith the most flexible sensibility to all that is tender or grand in feeling, and all that is holy and commanding in situation. He has an ear patient for a chronicle, and pleased with a song, an imagination that glows at a masterly characterization or a beautiful metaphor, with a wit and humor that smile and weep, but never mock or sting. The rhythm of verse reaches him, and oratory, with every vehement or melting accent, sounds out upon him from the cold printed page ; while the loveliness or deformity of act or word escapes not his inspection. And out of all this breadth and union of powers arise the excellence and scope of his critical ability. We have spoken of him as a critic, and we think not with extravagant, but just commendation. What he would produce in the field of purely original composition, and separated from the direct support of this noble company of authors which he frequents, he has yet, notwithstanding many a paragraph of vigorous writing in his volumes, fully to demonstrate. Indeed, having shown such manifold appreciation of others in their literary attempts of every sort, and succeeded so uniformly well in presenting the ideal at which they should aim, we hope he will undertake some larger work, to which a grateful criticism will do the justice of that "measure" with which he has "meted" his awards.

We should wish to accompany and verify our remarks with examples from the book whose title we have given. So many passages strike the eye it is hard to choose, and in fact we think it unsatisfactory to rend sentences in such writings from their place as specimens of a symmetrical work.

To prove by the best testimony, and in the briefest space, both the range of our author's resources, and the certainty of his touch, we will cite a single sentence from the third Lecture, on Wit and Humor : —

"The mere mention of a few of the great wits and humorists of the world will show the extent of the subject, viewed simply in its literary aspect ; for to Mirth belong the exhaustless fancy and sky-piercing buffooneries of Aristophanes ; the matchless irony of Lucian ; the stern and terrible satire of Juvenal ; the fun-drunken extravagances of Rabelais ; the self-pleased chuckle of Montaigne ; the farcical caricature of Scarron ; the glowing and sparkling verse of Dryden ; the genial fun of Addison ; the scoffing subtleties of Butler ; the aerial merriment of Sterne ; the

hard brilliancy and stinging emphasis of Pope ; the patient glitter of Congreve ; the teasing mockery of Voltaire ; the polished sharpness of Sheridan ; the wise drolleries of Sydney Smith ; the sly, shy, elusive, ethereal humor of Lamb ; the short, sharp, flashing scorn of Macaulay ; the careless gayety of Béranger ; the humorous sadness of Hood ; and the comic creations, various almost as human nature, which have peopled the imaginations of Europe with everlasting forms of the ludicrous, from the time of Shakspeare and Cervantes to that of Scott and Dickens."

What an amount and labyrinthine reach of reading in a single line of the great sphere of knowledge, with what a firm and steady appreciation of the subordinate kinds under one species of talent, are here implied, though hidden and almost disparaged by the full and rapid stream in which so many just distinctions and unchangeable epithets, with perfect lightness and careless, spontaneous ease, flow on !

We are tempted, also, to insert here the introductory paragraph of the second Lecture, on Novels and Novelists, in illustration of Mr. Whipple's own wit and humor, and moreover for the sake of the keen morality it insinuates in respect to the cardinal virtue of truth-acting, leaving the propriety of the practices in question to be argued on independent grounds.

"Much has been said and written on the uses and abuses of fiction. Novel-writing and novel-reading have commonly been held in low estimation by grave and sensible people, or rather by people whose gravity has been received as the appropriate garment of sense. Many are both amused, and ashamed of being amused, by this class of compositions ; and, accordingly, in the libraries of well-regulated families, untouched volumes of history and philosophy glitter on prominent book-shelves in all the magnificence of burnished bindings, while the poor, precious novel, dog's-eared and wasted as it may be by constant handling, is banished to some secret but accessible nook, in order that its modest merit may not evoke polite horror. It thus becomes a kind of humble companion, whose prattle is pleasant enough when alone, but who must be cut in genteel company. And thus, many a person whose heart is beating hard in admiration of Mr. Richard Turpin's ride to York, or whose imagination is filled with the image of Mr. James's solitary horseman slowly wending up the hill, still in public vehemently chatters on subjects with which he has no sympathy, and on books which he has never read."

Mr. Whipple's wit and humor are admirable traits in the

composition and balance of his own mind. For, hearty and rugged as they are, swift and decisive in their strokes, yet, if we mistake not, they cover and protect an exceeding tenderness of nature, maintaining in health the most delicate emotions, by the quick sense of whatever is excessive or ludicrous, marking the impassable line of the feelings, and guarding against shafts a sensitive bosom, as with a steel coat of mail. Well is it when the sharp wit of the head, instead of being envenomed and urged by the malignant passions, is tempered and checked by the kindly humor rising from the heart. If some arrows are thus withheld, others are more surely sped !

But we must hasten to select a specimen from Mr. Whipple's essays, in a department where we think he also evinces singular felicity. We mean logical or rather psychological analysis. With the other extracts which we give, we think it will justify all we have said of him in our general remarks. We choose the ninety-first and ninety-second pages of the volume, containing a description by contrast of that very Wit and Humor, the whole breadth of whose gradations and slightest subtilty of whose distinctions he delineates in others, while he displays a peculiar racy quality of them in himself.

" Wit was originally a general name for all the intellectual powers, meaning the faculty which kens, perceives, knows, understands ; it was gradually narrowed in its signification to express merely the resemblance between ideas ; and lastly, to note that resemblance when it occasioned ludicrous surprise. It marries ideas, lying wide apart, by a sudden jerk of the understanding. Humor originally meant moisture, a signification it metaphorically retains, for it is the very juice of the mind, oozing from the brain, and enriching and fertilizing wherever it falls. Wit exists by antipathy ; Humor by sympathy. Wit laughs at things ; Humor laughs *with* them. Wit lashes external appearances, or cunningly exaggerates single follies into character ; Humor glides into the heart of its object, looks lovingly on the infirmities it detects, and represents the whole man. Wit is abrupt, darting, scornful, and tosses its analogies in your face ; Humor is slow and shy, insinuating its fun into your heart. Wit is negative, analytical, destructive ; Humor is creative. The couplets of Pope are witty, but Sancho Panza is a humorous creation. Wit, when earnest, has the earnestness of passion, seeking to destroy ; Humor has the earnestness of affection, and would lift up what is seemingly low into our charity and love. Wit, bright, rapid, and blasting as the lightning, flashes, strikes,

and vanishes in an instant; Humor, warm and all-embracing as the sunshine, bathes its objects in a genial and abiding light. Wit implies hatred or contempt of folly and crime, produces its effects by brisk shocks of surprise, uses the whip of scorpions and the branding-iron, stabs, stings, pinches, tortures, goads, teases, corrodes, undermines; Humor implies a sure conception of the beautiful, the majestic, and the true, by whose light it surveys and shapes their opposites. It is a humane influence, softening with mirth the ragged inequalities of existence, promoting tolerant views of life, bridging over the spaces which separate the lofty from the lowly, the great from the humble. Old Dr. Fuller's remark, that a negro is 'the image of God cut in ebony,' is humorous; Horace Smith's inversion of it, that the taskmaster is 'the image of the devil cut in ivory,' is witty. Wit can coexist with fierce and malignant passions; but Humor demands good feeling and fellow-feeling,—feeling not merely for what is above us, but for what is around and beneath us. When Wit and Humor are commingled, the result is a genial sharpness, dealing with its object somewhat as old Izaak Walton dealt with the frog he used for bait,—running the hook neatly through his mouth and out at his gills, and in so doing 'using him as though he loved him'! Sydney Smith and Shakspeare's Touchstone are examples."

For our proper selves we honestly confess to a perhaps weak shrinking from this last illustration, which we doubt not is somehow curiously happy, and therefore leave, as we suppose our author does, to the many who, like gentle-hearted old Izaak Walton himself, can fully appreciate, or, with an innocent and cordial delight in all the means appertaining, be absorbed in the piscatorial art.

One more passage we must copy, in celebration of the blessings we derive from books, as a voucher of the lofty strain of eloquence which is at the command of our author's pen.

"We walk, in imagination, with the noblest spirits, through the most sublime and enchanting regions,—regions which, to all that is lovely in the forms and colors of earth,

'add the gleam,  
The light that never was on sea or land,  
The consecration and the poet's dream.'

A motion of the hand brings all Arcadia to sight. The war of Troy can, at our bidding, rage in the narrowest chamber. Without stirring from our firesides, we may roam to the most remote regions of the earth, or soar into realms where Spenser's shapes

of unearthly beauty flock to meet us, where Milton's angels peal in our ears the choral hymns of paradise. Science, art, literature, philosophy, — all that man has thought, all that man has done, — the experience that has been bought with the sufferings of a hundred generations, — all are garnered up for us in the world of books. There, among realities, in a 'substantial world,' we move with the crowned kings of thought. There our minds have a free range, our hearts a free utterance. Reason is confined within none of the partitions which trammel it in life. The hard granite of conventionalism melts away as a thin mist. We call things by their right names. Our lips give not the lie to our hearts. We bend the knee only to the great and good. We despise only the despicable; we honor only the honorable. In that world no divinity hedges a king, no accident of rank or fashion ennobles a dunce or shields a knave. There, and almost only there, do our affections have free play. We can select our companions from among the most richly gifted of the sons of God, and they are companions who will not desert us in poverty, or sickness, or disgrace. When every thing else fails, — when fortune frowns, and friends cool, and health forsakes us, — when this great world of forms and shows appears a 'two-edged lie, which *seems* but *is* not,' — when all our earth-clinging hopes and ambitions melt away into nothingness,

'Like snow-flakes on a river,  
One moment white, then gone for ever,'—

we are still not without friends to animate and console us, — friends, in whose immortal countenances, as they look out upon us from books, we can discern no change; who will dignify low fortunes and humble life with their kingly presence; who will people solitude with shapes more glorious than ever glittered in palaces; who will consecrate sorrow and take the sting from care; and who, in the long hours of despondency and weakness, will send healing to the sick heart, and energy to the wasted brain."

A noble tribute, in which a universal truth is evidently uttered out of the heart of personal experience. It might almost seem as though the departed sovereigns who have ruled in the kingdom of ideas might hear the praises in which only our everlasting obligations to them can be paid; and if their dust do not, as has been fancied, stir at the echo, yet even their heavenly faces brighten, and their own anthems swell and deepen to the Inspirer of their imperishable thoughts.

Many passages equalling and perhaps more excellent than those we have taken, might be transferred from this volume

to our pages. But we must stop. Mr. Whipple's style, while marked by signal merits, we think, might occasionally with advantage be chastened by a taste somewhat more cautious and severe. There is in it a reckless and gay exuberance, sometimes pressing to the verge of literary decorum, and perilling the load of good sense it conveys. This adventurous mood, the hazarding of smart hits, and running risks of expression and illustration, to capture at once the understanding, and by quick sallies carry along the sympathy of those addressed, may have arisen from the circumstance that these Lectures were prepared simply for popular use. But they moreover show a wide mastery of our language, a precision of terms, a copiousness of speech, and even that fine intermingling of classic grace, of foreign and exotic beauty with the native force of the Saxon idiom, which could have been attained only by a sagacity piercing, without the ordinary aids to this end, through the obvious resources of the mother tongue into the secrets of its derivation and the richness of its roots.

We have the more willingly given some space in our pages to an examination of the qualities displayed in a literary work, because of the close relationship between literature and religion. The author's pen, in every legitimate use of it, we consider friendly to our highest sentiments. Thought itself is the neighbour and ally of piety, and its communication so as to excite men to think will always awaken the sense of spiritual relations. The missionary finds some degree of civilization and refinement needful to open the way for the application of Gospel truth ; to the same end knowledge and reflection must illumine the heathen ignorance and soften the barbarous manners which are confined to no far continent or lonely, savage island of the sea. A sound literature, like the Jewish law, is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. Religion has indeed her own province, which must not be confounded with other provinces ; but neither must it be insulated and cut off from, but joined to them. Hers is not a peculiar and separate circle of existence, alien from and unconformable to ordinary life, but an arc whose law continues it into the whole appointed course of human action. Poetry, philosophy, and true fiction are not her foes, but her own kin, her younger sisters, whose dress of language in all its variety and splendor she wears, as well as in its more plain and sober colors. Rhetoric is *her* spokesman too, and never so eloquent as in

her behalf. To her wisdom imagination gives wings, to her spirituality fancy lends a shape, and even wit and irony have a place among her thunders of conscience and jubilees of praise. The press in every honest and decent motion is her servant ; and every book, that should be read at all, enters her plea. For all earnest meditation, which the profoundest treatise or the simplest narrative of facts should arouse, emancipates men from low desires and petty cares, is an extinguisher of sensual lusts, a subduer to lay the threatening and violent ghosts of the passions, and an emancipator delivering men from that consuming thirst for gain and vulgar ambition of office with which our own country is greatly afflicted.

. We are aware it is not of all that passes under the name of religion, but only of a liberal and rational religion, that this description holds good. It is not true of religion as a pompous form, as a technical creed, or as a degrading and vindictive superstition, — which are but false changelings or base impostors passing under her name ; but only of religion as a living “spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.” And it is matter of rejoicing and thankfulness, that literature is the enemy of those hollow ceremonials, tyrannic dogmas, and servile fears, which have so often been the “abomination,” standing where they ought not, “in the holy place” of the heart’s altars. It is reason for thanksgiving, that whatever other triumphs a gloomy theology and ecclesiastic despotism have won, the fortresses of the world’s best learning and wit and genius hold out against them, and can never be reduced to their sway. Intelligence is the deadly and invincible antagonist of all imposition on human credulity or usurpation of human rights. The friends of just and reasonable views of God and our relation to him, under whatever denomination standing, may take courage on seeing themselves backed by an ever multiplying auxiliary host, bearing arms of celestial temper, arms that still strike for the right after they who forged them on earth are dead.

This harmony of which we have spoken, between literature and religion, arises from the inward harmony, in its true development, of man’s whole nature. On the supposition that this nature is essentially discordant and diseased in its fundamental faculties, of course it can have no development but what is vicious and evil, and religion must be at war with all its unfolding in connection with this world. All



action, genius, art, and speculation must be born into natural antipathy with it. On the contrary, we believe that where our nature is brought out fairly in a proportionate and orderly way, according to the original innate dignity of its faculties, and under the proper influences which Providence appoints, there will be no such jarring, but agreement. We must, after all, steadily adhere to and maintain our old ground, that the nature of man as the gift and inspiration of God is, however imperfect, like all his other works, good. So far as, contrary to man's whole nature, wrong inclinations are allowed to predominate, his state and the claims of religion become mutually incompatible and exclusive. And from this abnormal and really unnatural condition, which may be connected with much worldly information and science, springs up of course a base and poisonous growth in the field of letters. The ivy and the upas grow out of as kindly a soil as do the rose and the palm-tree. There is much literature which is not like sweet flowers and nutritious fruit, but like the "juice of cursed hebenon," in the "porches" of our "ears a leprous distilment," and the touch of deadly night-shade. The idea often set forth of a true literature is of that in which every thing pertaining to human life or the soul's inner experience should find expression. Goethe is praised for this universal representation he made of all that he saw or felt. But not every object, thought, or feeling should be represented, any more than every seed or plant should be cultivated. In regard to many things, it is bad enough they should exist once by perverted nature, without being reproduced as the glory of art. Or if, for the sake of warning, they are thus held forth again, they should be, as not always in the page of Goethe and other famous names beside, in a light that will show vice a "monster of horrid mien," and "virtue in her shape how lovely." So does the Bible represent every thing it admits in the light of truth, the point of view of the righteous and holy law of God. And so should every author beware of his *point of view*.

It gives us pleasure to note, in the work which we have taken occasion to commend, great purity, every leaf clear of blot, without affectation or the over-nice show of delicacy, and still more an unequivocal reverence for all the nobler sentiments, for every manifestation of the benevolence, devotion, and religious faith of the human soul. It is unspeakably important that this great fellowship, this noble guild of

learning, should be throughout so inspired. There is not wanting in the literature of the day a profane and unbelieving section. When a man has cast out the Christian belief from its authority over his heart and life, the consequences will appear in his writings, as well as in his deeds and spoken words. The pride and scorn, the impiety and conceit of superiority that nestle within, will fly forth in all these winged messengers from his heart, and the Marah in his breast flow out in his utterance and sprinkle his page. Every thing in life and character sinks into meanness and pollution at his touch. The writer who would meet the ever weightier responsibilities of using especially this English speech must be imbued with the spirit of religion. Believing firmly in our human constitution as God's great boon to us, we do not believe it can be safe, or happy, or fruitful of wholesome knowledge or influence, save as it is subjected to the law God has ordained. Religion is not every thing to man, but it is the principal thing, the one thing especially needful. He is partial and narrow, who, as has been said of the great Jonathan Edwards, can talk of nothing but religion; but he is mad and wicked who shuts it out from his thoughts or his lips. As we walk in the light of the sun without gazing ever in the direction of its orb, so should we be always in the service of God, though not for ever making him the immediate and only object of contemplation. We should accept all the vital and glorious means and agents by which he trains and would perfect us, — letters and friendship, domestic love and active life, religion being eldest in the band, but all owning their equal origin in one great Parent, in whose worship and according to whose will they are severally governed and obediently joined.

The literary author should especially rejoice to come into these so advantageous terms of connection and reciprocity with the Christian revelation. For truly has this made good the significance of its title, in unveiling and, to human view, widening the domain of knowledge. Its teachings have not, as some, in a supercilious self-reliance, fancy, been the clog, but rather the unfettering of the human mind. Its words, holding their heavenly flame through their version into every tongue, have put a kindling zeal into all human dialects. Its miracles have not shut up the universe against the researches of human science, but opened a door into the depths of God's power, and quickened mysterious expectations of its

future displays. How much lofty reflection its fixed, but living principles have aroused ! How much poetic beauty and splendor its promises, and the ineffably sublime objects it discloses, have suggested ! How much toil of meditation and perseverance of spiritual progress have its inbreathings of immortality cheered and sustained ! How it has furnished the chief enlargement to the intellectual life of the world ! What blessed fruits of learning and genius, our best possession, would be at this moment wanting to us, but for its unstinted bounty ! Take it away, were such a thing possible, and how again the mists of ignorance and error would speedily close in around us, and our path be confused and darkened ! We should have indeed the freedom of speculation some are so charmed with, but it would be freedom to wander and be lost. Our unyoked passions would have freedom, too, to hurry us in their license to our ruin. For the clear vision of faith we should have the dull obscurity of conjecture, for mysteries made known mysteries only to defy and baffle us, while mystical clouds would, as they must, hover round, only not, as now, filled and transpierced with the glorious light of eternity. Life would be an ocean still, but, indeed, like the old tossing ocean to which we resemble it, before a chart had been drawn, or the compass invented, or the termination of a voyage over the waste of waves understood, but all was darkness, and danger, and fear, and unfathomable doubt.

Let the scholar and the Christian, then, rejoice in their common sources of light and inspiration. One fire burns, one fountain flows, for them both. It will be a blessed time when the heavenly blaze shall cast its lustre upon every strong influential intellect, and the water of life make its fertilizing way into every region of human thought. Then every author will be a preacher, every book a missionary, the evangelization of the world over isle and continent proceed rapidly, the holy dream of the millennium be realized, and the kingdom of God come.

C. A. B.

## ART. V.—THE MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF EDUCATION.\*

WE propose, in this article, to present a view of the recent movements of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in reference to the cause of education, and of the results that have been reached, and more particularly to notice the labors and services of the late Secretary of the Board of Education.

It is well known throughout the civilized world, indeed, that the most marked peculiarity in the primitive organization of the social fabric in the New England States, as compared with the origin of all other communities, was the prominence given to education. It was not only the corner-stone, but the basement story of the whole structure. The hope of the Pilgrims was, that knowledge and learning might not be buried in their graves, but for ever perpetuated and diffused among their descendants. The rude and desolate land was to be made fruitful and beautiful by sparkling waters, gushing from the rock in the wilderness smitten by the hand of instruction. Provisions for the education of the rising generation illuminate the statute-book from its earliest to its latest pages. But it was not by the force of law alone that the great interest was sustained. It was the ever-cherished object of—that without which laws are powerless and worse than useless—the public affections, and the deep-rooted convictions of the people. The first settlers of Massachusetts had, many of them, tasted the luxuries of learning in the old country; and while they knew that they could not rear in the American forests colleges and universities to be compared with the venerable and richly adorned halls and libraries they had left behind, their hopes and solitudes for their posterity found refuge in the schools to which their number, means, and circumstances were adequate, and with an honorable pride they determined through them to secure the wide and universal diffusion of knowledge to an extent that had not been dreamed of in other lands. This was within their power. They resolved to accomplish it. All worked together in executing the noble purpose,—governors, magistrates, legislators, ministers, philanthropists, and patriots,—every parent and every voter,—the old and the young. The school-

\* *Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Twelfth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 155.

house, its location, its erection, its repairs, and its equipments, — the school, its instruction, its oversight and administration, its associations and its annals, — became incorporated, everywhere, with the daily thoughts and constant life of the whole people. Its opening and its close marked the successive seasons and the revolving years.

Had not such an interest taken early and lasting possession of the minds of the colonists, it is easy to see in how short a time prevailing ignorance would have enveloped the settlements, and have sunk them in the deepest barbarism. Among the original emigrants there was a large proportion of educated persons, and not a few who had shone in the universities, cathedrals, and more cultivated circles of the gentry, of the mother country. Soon they passed away, and not many came out to supply their places. As it was, a great decline is to be noticed in the standard of intelligence and civilization immediately consequent upon the disappearance of the first generation of New England. Notwithstanding the wise promptitude with which they kindled the taper lights of the humble village schools wherever their hamlets had encroached upon the wilderness, a general darkness is seen to have gathered gradually over the public mind, as the primitive luminaries, one by one, went out. It was, of course, long before the infant college could do any thing effectually to uphold the standard of learning, or to counteract the retrograde tendency of society. Had it not been for the schools, that retrograde tendency would have been accelerated, confirmed, and remediless. But they presented an opposing front, which, although borne back for a time, checked the downward progress, and saved the land from utter darkness. They shone like stars through the night, and by their constant, thickening, pervading, and ever-kindling radiance, at last ushered in a day of knowledge that will never more expire.

The demands of public sentiment were enforced and fully carried out by careful and well-defined provisions of law. The whole people were required to participate in the burden, and it was designed that all should share in the benefit. Neither poverty, nor distance, nor insensibility to the privilege, was permitted to lose or to avoid the influence. It is obvious that the whole system rests upon the assumption, that ignorance is dangerous to society, and knowledge favorable to its order, safety, and welfare. On this ground the Commonwealth claimed a right to exercise its power over the in-

dividual, controlling and assessing him for the support of the institution. On the same ground, up to a very recent period, the government exercised the power of enforcing upon the individual the support of religion. It was assumed that religion is favorable to order, and irreligion dangerous to society. The assumptions are sound and true in both cases. Society has as good a right to require all to contribute to support religion as to support schools, — a right that rests upon precisely the same grounds. In reference to religion, it has been decided, as the result of observation and experience, that it will be as effectually sustained by the natural operation of the laws of the mind, left to their voluntary action, as by the authority of the government. But this reasoning will not apply to education. The legislation of Massachusetts is based upon the supposition, that the public interest in education, however extensive, will be inadequate to its support, unless sustained and carried out by the power of the government. This is, undoubtedly, a correct supposition, and fully justifies, and will — at least until society has made nearer approaches to the millennial period — require, the maintenance of schools by law. With this right of the government to make education a public burden and charge, there is a corresponding obligation upon the government to extend its influence to the entire rising generation. When the government demands and receives the money of its individual subjects for the support of schools, it must be regarded as entering into a contract, binding it not to allow ignorance to exist in any minds. It says to the individual, “Ignorance is dangerous to the State, to the property and welfare of all ; — give me your money, and I will secure you against ignorance by removing it entirely.” This pledge the government does not fulfil, if it allows any portion of the people, however small, to fail to experience the salutary influence of knowledge ; — justice and reason require, if education be made a public charge, that it be universal. To educate a part only of the people, for the purpose of saving society from the perils of ignorance, would be acting like the wisecracks who, having been employed to remove the powder from under the Parliament-House, when presenting themselves for payment, and being asked whether they had taken the whole away, answered, “No ; we have removed twenty barrels, and suppose the other five can do no harm.”

In accordance with these views, it has ever been the policy of the law to apply all possible inducements, and make use of

every expedient, short of actual force, to secure the attendance of all the children of the Commonwealth upon the schools. Non-attendance has not, as yet, been treated as a penal offence, and pursued by actual criminal prosecution, although there is an evident tendency of public sentiment in that direction. It is getting to be perceived, that, upon the principles above stated, by which the public justifies itself in taking the property of individuals to sustain education, it is difficult to show how it can escape the obligation to enforce a universal attendance upon schools by the utmost power of the law. Very careful and thorough inquiries and explorations, recently made by persons deeply interested in the moral and philanthropic movements of our day, have disclosed the startling fact, that in the city of Boston itself there are some twelve hundred children and youth growing up without any education. The law, meantime, is yearly extorting from the pockets of the tax-payers of this city an immense sum, on the ground that ignorance is dangerous, and that society has a right to take private property for the purpose of securing the public against the danger. If, after receiving the money for this purpose, it allows ignorance to prevail to such an extent, it is surely open to the charge of failing to meet its obligations. Its pledge is not redeemed. The promised consideration is withheld. Private property is taken for public purposes, and those purposes are not accomplished. When general attention is called to the subject, it will, undoubtedly, be felt that justice, reason, and the public welfare require that the law, acting in a sterner form than it has yet assumed, should compel attendance upon school. Its force ought to be as directly, as impartially, and as inexorably put forth in gathering the children into the school-house, as it is in compelling all to contribute towards the cost of its erection and the expenses of instruction in it. This is, we repeat, fast becoming the public sentiment. Movements already are made to procure the enactment of laws rendering truancy a criminal offence, and making habitual absence from school, without any lawful and regular occupation, between six and fifteen years, punishable by fine or imprisonment. Until this is done, the Commonwealth will not be able to say that she is safe from the perils of ignorance, and that all her children have the key and the lamp of knowledge placed in their hands, to open the avenues, and guide them in the paths, of wisdom.

While we are looking forward to still higher results from our common school system, when thus fully developed, it is impossible to over-estimate the beneficial effects that have flowed from it, in its past stages, however imperfect its organization or authority. Those effects have been constant and incalculable. Her common schools have made Massachusetts what she is, and enabled her to play her great part in the political and social history of America.

The utter failure of all revolutions of government from a monarchical to a republican form, with the single exception of the United States of America, is a lesson of history more lamentably and shamefully corroborated by the recent examples of Italy, Hungary, the German States, and, worse than all France, in which the cry of "Vive la Republique!" is the mere password by which successive usurpers betray the hopes of liberty. Were it not for the solitary example of this country, the conclusion would seem to be established as an absolute principle, that free institutions are impracticable. Here, and here only, has success crowned the struggle for liberty. Now, when it is remembered that nearly three tenths of all the troops engaged in the Revolutionary war were drawn from this State, and when we consider how long the scales hung even, how narrow was the deliverance of the American cause, all must be prepared to admit, that the moral energies which an intelligent training contributed to the sons of Massachusetts decided the issue of the conflict. The "light artillery" that "saved the day" in the great battle of American freedom were the common schools of New England.

This was the opinion of the wisest men of that day. The successful termination of the war of American independence arrested universal attention, and excited a profound interest throughout the civilized world. A French writer of distinction addressed a letter to John Adams, then residing in Europe, stating that he proposed to publish a history of the British American colonies, and of the war of their Revolution, and suggesting that any advice or aid it might be convenient for him to render would be most gratefully received. Mr. Adams, in reply, expressed his gratification that his country was honored by the favorable notice of intelligent minds in the Old World, and particularly that its history was to be written by so able and eloquent a pen. He then went on and marked out a course of preparation for the adequate



discharge of the functions of its historian, which could not but have been truly formidable to his correspondent. Among other things, he represented that a continued residence, for a considerable period, in America, a familiar converse with its people, and particularly a visit to the several capitals of the States, for a personal and careful examination of their archives, would be absolutely necessary, in order to do justice to the subject. In this document, most characteristic of its author, and pervaded by his wisdom and depth and grasp of thought, he said, that, to understand the rudiments of the American Revolution, one must make himself a master of four leading institutions, by which, more than by all things else, the people had been enabled to achieve their independence, — the TOWN, the CONGREGATION, the MILITIA, and the SCHOOL. Every reflecting person will read, in these four words, the character and the history of the New England States. Of the four, the last is evidently the deepest and the most potent in its operation. Without the school, the town-meeting would not have trained the people in self-government, and the discreet and efficient use of political power; the congregation could not have appreciated the learning and the logic by which the pupil, sustained by an intelligent community, lifted that intelligence higher and higher; and the sword could only have been safely trusted to men who could also maintain their rights by argument, and who knew their duties as well as their rights.

The universal diffusion of the elements and the means of knowledge not only qualified the people for independence, but aided essentially in repairing the injuries inflicted upon the social and moral condition of the country by the depressing influences of a protracted, exhausting, and exasperating war. And the gradual, and of late sensibly accelerating, refinement and consolidation of civilization in this Commonwealth, from that day to this, are mainly owing to the degree to which popular education has been fostered and promoted by the public sentiment and the law.

It is not our purpose to narrate the details of the legislative history of Massachusetts, relating to this paramount interest. Its sum and substance are condensed in the first ten sections of the twenty-third chapter of the Revised Statutes, as follows : —

“Sec. 1. In every town, containing fifty families or householders, there shall be kept in each year, at the charge of the

town, by a teacher or teachers of competent ability and good morals, one school for the instruction of children in orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and good behaviour, for the term of six months, or two or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to six months.

"Sec. 2. In every town, containing one hundred families or householders, there shall be kept in each year one such school, for the term of twelve months, or two or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to twelve months.

"Sec. 3. In every town, containing one hundred and fifty families or householders, there shall be kept in each year two such schools, for nine months each, or three or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to eighteen months.

"Sec. 4. In every town, containing five hundred families or householders, there shall be kept in each year two such schools for twelve months each, or three or more such schools, for terms of time that shall together be equivalent to twenty-four months.

"Sec. 5. Every town, containing five hundred families or householders, shall, besides the schools prescribed in the preceding section, maintain a school, to be kept by a master of competent ability and good morals, who shall, in addition to the branches of learning before mentioned, give instruction in the history of the United States, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, and algebra; and such last-mentioned school shall be kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the town, ten months at least, exclusive of vacations, in each year, and at such convenient place, or alternately at such places, in the town as the said inhabitants at their annual meeting shall determine; and, in every town containing four thousand inhabitants, the said master shall, in addition to all the branches of instruction before required in this chapter, be competent to instruct in the Latin and Greek languages, and general history, rhetoric, and logic.

"Sec. 6. Any town, containing less than five hundred families or householders, may establish and maintain such a school as is first mentioned in the preceding section, for such term of time, in any year, or in each year, as they shall deem expedient.

"Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the president, professors, and tutors of the university at Cambridge, and of the several colleges, and of all preceptors and teachers of academies, and all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavours to impress on the minds of children and youth, committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal

benevolence, sobriety, industry, and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavour to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution, and secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.

"Sec. 8. It shall be the duty of the resident ministers of the Gospel, the selectmen, and the school committees, in the several towns, to exert their influence, and use their best endeavours, that the youth of their towns shall regularly attend the schools established for their instruction.

"Sec. 9. The several towns are authorized and directed, at their annual meetings, or at any regular meeting called for the purpose, to raise such sums of money, for the support of the schools aforesaid, as they shall judge necessary; which sums shall be assessed and collected in like manner as other town taxes.

"Sec. 10. The inhabitants of every town shall, at their annual meeting, choose, by written ballots, a school committee, consisting of three, five, or seven persons, who shall have the general charge and superintendence of all the public schools in such town."

About the time, but shortly before the date, of the Revised Statutes, (1836,) a new impulse was given to the cause of common schools in this State, and a course of measures adopted for their elevation, of which the results, now beginning to develop themselves, are destined to transcend any expectations that have yet been indulged. That impulse it is the chief design of this article to trace towards its sources, and follow in its operation.

The political experience of this country has revealed a tendency, against which resistance is unavailing, to place and commit all the interests and hopes of society into the hands of the sovereign people. To this complexion all must come at last. No paper barriers, no legal fixtures, no prescriptive veneration, and no weight of authority can permanently withstand the tide of the popular will. It will bear down and sweep away all obstructions. As this truth opens upon the minds of men, all see that there is but one refuge. If no external force can control the will of the people, an in-

ternal control must be provided. The only safety of society is in the intelligence, thoughtfulness, and wisdom of the body of the people. Universal education must guide the hand of universal suffrage.

Such reflections as these, the final result of our political experience, took possession of the general mind, with a peculiar conviction, at the time to which we are referring. It became apparent, that, while much had been done to elevate the people, much more was required to be done to render them competent to exercise wisely the power that had passed irretrievably, and without control, into their hands. The law already made provision for the school-house, and the compensation of the teacher. In casting about to discover in what way the efficacy of the system might be heightened, it became the conviction of many minds, that the great point to be aimed at was to raise the character and qualifications of teachers. The idea of a school to prepare instructors for their work was suggested, and urged upon the public attention.

Among the earliest to awaken a new interest in the cause of education, and to give this direction to the thoughts of its friends, the late James G. Carter bore a leading part. His "Letters to the Hon. William Prescott, on the Free Schools of New England, with Remarks upon the Principles of Instruction," published in 1824, contributed effectually to originate a movement, which, in its more advanced stages, he was enabled, in a legislative and official capacity, to guide towards its consummation. His name will ever be honorably associated with the cause of education in Massachusetts.

The first prominent indication that the efforts to awaken new and deeper interest in the common schools of the State had not failed of success, was the establishment of the "Massachusetts School Fund," by an act of the legislature of 1834, which, as reenacted in the Revised Statutes, is as follows : —

"Sec. 13. All moneys and stocks in the treasury, on the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, which shall have been derived from sales of the Commonwealth's lands in the State of Maine, and from the claim of the Commonwealth on the government of the United States for military services, and which shall not be otherwise appropriated, together with one half of the moneys thereafter received from

the sale of lands in Maine, shall constitute a permanent fund, to be called the Massachusetts School Fund, for the encouragement of common schools, according to the provisions of the twenty-fourth chapter; provided, that said fund shall never exceed one million of dollars." — Chap. 11, Sec. 13, p. 94.

It has always been understood that the design of this fund was, not to relieve towns of the burden of the school tax, but to encourage and stimulate them to make that burden larger. So far as it has had this effect, it has been of great advantage, and it is the most imperative duty of the legislature to make such provisions of law as will secure to the fund this operation everywhere.

The next important stage of the recent educational movement in Massachusetts was the election of Edward Everett as Governor of the Commonwealth, in 1835. The elevation to the chair of state of the most finished example of intellectual cultivation it has produced was a circumstance in itself adapted to invigorate and heighten the general interest in the subject of education; and by his official services he fully discharged his obligations to the cause. During the winter of 1836, a memorial was presented to the legislature by the American Institute of Instruction, signed by George B. Emerson — from the beginning to this day one of the most efficient promoters of the educational movement in this State — and others. This memorial (Document No. 27 of the House of Representatives) was for the appointment of a "Superintendent of Common Schools." The Committee on Education brought in a bill for that purpose, backed by a report written by James G. Carter (Document No. 50 of that year). But no final action was had at that session in the matter.

In Governor Everett's address, at the opening of the legislative session, on the 12th of January, 1837, there was the following passage: — "While nothing can be farther from my purpose than to disparage the common schools as they are, and while a deep sense of personal obligation to them will ever be cherished, it must yet be candidly admitted, that they are susceptible of great improvements. The school-houses might in many cases be rendered more commodious. Provision ought to be made for affording the advantages of education, throughout the whole year, to all of a proper age to receive it. Teachers well qualified to give elementary instruction in all the branches of useful knowledge

should be employed; and small school libraries, maps, globes, and the requisite scientific apparatus, should be furnished. I submit to the legislature, whether the creation of a board of commissioners of schools, to serve without salary, with authority to appoint a secretary, on a reasonable compensation, to be paid from the school fund, would not be of great utility. Should the legislature take advantage of the ample means now thrown into their hands greatly to increase the efficiency of the school fund, I cannot but think they would entitle themselves to the gratitude of the whole people. The wealth of Massachusetts always has been, and always will be, the mind of her children; and good schools are a treasure a thousand fold more precious than all the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru."

A bill carrying out the recommendation of the governor, and establishing the Board of Education, was reported by the Committee on Education, of which Josiah Quincy, Jr. was then chairman, and became a law on the 20th of April, 1837. The board consists of eight persons, together with the governor and lieutenant-governor. The term of office is eight years, and the term of one member expires each year. The duty of the board is to "prepare and lay before the legislature, in a printed form, on or before the second Wednesday in January annually, an abstract of the school returns received by the Secretary of the Commonwealth," and they are authorized to appoint a secretary, "who shall, under the direction of the board, collect information of the actual condition and efficacy of the common schools, and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible, throughout every part of the Commonwealth, information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young." It is also made the duty of the board "to make a detailed report to the legislature of all its doings, with such observations as their experience and reflection may suggest, upon the condition and efficiency of our system of popular education, and the most practicable means of improving and extending it."

During the legislative session of 1838, the Secretary of the Board of Education, in a communication to the presiding officers of the two houses, made known, "that private munificence had placed at his disposal the sum of ten thousand dollars to promote the cause of popular education in Massa-

chusetts, on condition that the Commonwealth will contribute, from unappropriated funds, the same amount in aid of the same cause ; the two sums to be drawn upon equally, from time to time, as needed, and to be disbursed under the direction of the Board of Education, in qualifying teachers for the common schools." The legislature forthwith, in a resolve dated April 19, 1838, complied with the proposal, by appropriating the sum required. From this union of private with public munificence the three Normal Schools of Massachusetts have sprung. They constitute a peculiar and most interesting feature of our present system. They are in satisfactory and successful operation, supplying teachers for the common schools, of a superior grade, and scattering among the towns and villages of the Commonwealth the elements of a high intellectual culture. The most minute, comprehensive, and thorough instruction in the branches of common school education is given, at the public expense, to persons of both sexes preparing to be teachers. The elements of knowledge are analyzed in their sources, and traced in their combinations. The young women who go forth from these institutions, after a few years, pass, as a matter of course, from the supervision of the summer schools to that highest post of instruction occupied by the wives and mothers of the land. The matured and ultimate influences of the normal schools — being thus in fact colleges for females, and sending their graduates into the families as well as schools of the Commonwealth — upon the civilization and refinement of the whole people will be beyond all that can now be imagined. They occupy a position, with the colleges above and the schools below them, that makes the pyramid of education perfect and complete.

The individual, then unknown, by whose noble provocation the State was instigated and drawn into the support of normal schools, was the late Edmund Dwight of Boston. He belonged to a class of men worthy of all honor for the beneficial influence they have, in every period, exerted upon the country, — the wealthy merchants and manufacturers of New England. He was an original member of the Board of Education, and a liberal and enlightened patron of the cause to the day of his lamented death. When the benignant influences of the normal schools are fully developed, and the whole series of Mr. Dwight's services and donations to the cause of education becomes matter of history, his

name, ever honored, will be cherished among those of the best benefactors of Massachusetts.

The Board of Education was organized in the Council-chamber, on the 29th of June, 1837. The governor was, of course, chairman, and Horace Mann was elected, by ballot, secretary. The novelty of the movement, the immense extent, diversity, complexity, and minuteness of the objects within its scope, the inadequacy of its powers and means, the vague and exaggerated expectations of wonderful results, to be reached at once, entertained by many of the most sanguine and busy friends of the cause, political jealousies, with the use made of them by intriguing partisans, and, more than all, sectarian opposition, embarrassed the board exceedingly during the earlier years of its operations, which were, besides, years of peculiar financial difficulty in the community at large. The value of the services of Governor Everett, under these disadvantageous and perplexing circumstances, cannot be over-estimated. He wrote the several annual reports of the board, and, as chairman of most of the sub-committees, he also discharged a great amount of labor, and bore the constant burden of responsible care. His indefatigable fidelity, his conscientious and enlightened prudence, his extraordinary discretion as a statesman, and his profound enthusiasm in the cause, were what the crisis absolutely needed. While justice to the secretary demands the tribute which we are about to render, it also requires us to acknowledge that no other hand, perhaps, than that which then held the helm of state, could have safely "piloted the little bark through the rough sea of jealousy and opposition."

But what, more than any or all things else during the administration of Governor Everett, contributed to the educational movement, was the appointment of HORACE MANN as Secretary of the Board of Education. As Mr. Dwight had borne such a prominent part in the whole transaction, and as their main reliance was on him, his associates naturally and properly followed his lead, and consulted his wishes. His modesty of deportment, and respectful regard for the wisdom of others, justified the influence conceded by his colleagues. He was convinced that every thing depended upon the selection of a suitable person for secretary of the board, and his thoughts first turned to the present President of Harvard University, Mr. Sparks. By pledging a very considerable annual allowance from his own funds, in addition to what the



board might be able to give, he made an offer to that gentleman corresponding to the great value of his time and services ; but other unavoidable engagements prevented its acceptance. Mr. Dwight then opened the subject to Mr. Mann, and, by a liberal pledge from his own purse towards his salary, he made it consistent with propriety for him to abandon his other pursuits and consent to assume the office, to which he was accordingly elected at the first meeting of the board.

Mr. Mann is, we believe, a native of the town of Franklin, in the county of Norfolk. He is a graduate of Brown University, where the story of his brilliant genius and unrivalled scholarship is among the most cherished traditions of the institution. He pursued the study of law in the celebrated school at Litchfield, in Connecticut, and finished his preparation for the practice in the office of Mr. Richardson, of Dedham. His talents and industry, with the political distinction early won, gave assurance of the highest success in his honorable and lucrative profession. In conjunction with the present Judge Metcalf, he was, in pursuance of a resolve of November 3d, 1835, appointed, by the presiding officers of the two houses of the legislature, to superintend the publication of the Revised Statutes, and to prepare marginal notes of reference to the sections, and an exact and copious index to the whole. An examination of the volume will show the amount of learning and labor required and exhibited in the performance of this service. For a period of ten years, he was a member of one or the other branch of the legislature, and in the year 1836, immediately preceding his appointment as Secretary of the Board of Education, was President of the Senate of Massachusetts.

But he hesitated not to abandon his professional prospects and political honors, and devote his life to a cause which, to a soul like his, capable of appreciating true greatness, had the strongest attractions. He preferred to spend and be spent in the service of the humble common and primary schools of his native State, to the triumphs of its bar or the chair of its Senate ; and the solid satisfaction and lasting glory he has won amply justify his choice. His intellectual energy and goodness, his fluent and glowing eloquence, his great comprehension of mind, enabling him to trace more clearly and broadly than other men the vast influence of education upon future generations and ever-widening circles, and the

prodigal richness of a creative and radiant imagination, lifting the vision from the imperfection of the present to that glorious future which education is destined to reveal, — these traits of mind were weapons, in the strength and temper of which he went forth to accomplish his work. He took the apathy, the indolence, and the prejudices of the people, as it were, by storm. Like another Luther, he roused them from their slumbers, and kindled a reformation whose fires are burning on every hill-top and in every valley of the State, and will never, we trust and believe, again be suffered to go out or grow dim.

But the best eulogium upon Mr. Mann's services, as Secretary of the Board of Education, is a plain, simple, and concise enumeration of his labors. During the first five years, he visited annually every county in the State, and most of the principal towns in each, examining schools, lecturing, meeting school conventions and teachers' associations, and conferring with active and leading friends of the cause. During the last three years, teachers' institutes also demanded his presence and coöperation. For the entire twelve years, his public addresses, of one kind or another, averaged as much as one a week, and he never spoke without giving utterance to an elaborate, highly wrought, and brilliant production. His mind always works with its whole power, and whatever subject he touches he grasps with fervid earnestness. His occupation in official duties averaged, for the twelve years, fifteen hours a day. He published twelve Annual Reports, eleven Abstracts of the Massachusetts School Returns, six of them large volumes, ten volumes of the Common School Journal, and a volume of Lectures on Education. These works were the result of an incredible amount of labor. The Annual Reports, besides the statistical matter especially appropriate to them, comprise a series of treatises upon all the principal topics of intellectual, moral, and physical education, most valuable in their substance and brilliant in their execution. They have been eagerly sought, and extensively circulated, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout the Union, and in foreign countries. The call for them is so urgent, and proceeds from such quarters, that the last legislature authorized a reprint of ten thousand copies of "so much of the Tenth Annual Report as, with the requisite additions and alterations, will exhibit a just and correct view of the common school system of Massachusetts,

with the provisions of law relating to it." If Mr. Mann should have leisure to select from his several reports all that is of general interest and permanent value, taking as much as he might find expedient into a new draft or new shape, the compilation would be an invaluable and classical work on education, and one which the legislatures of this and of other States would do well to provide for every school-district within their limits. Mr. Mann's correspondence amounted to more than all his printed writings together. He was referred to for information and advice from a vast variety of sources at home and abroad, and on a vast variety of subjects, particularly on legal questions arising in the school department in any part of the Commonwealth. Besides all this, the institution, erection, and oversight of the normal schools, the preparation of school blanks and registers, and the examination of text-books and works for the Common School Library, made severally large exactions upon his time and thoughts. In the mean while, he was not allowed a clerk, and had no office or accommodations of any kind provided for him. During his service he went abroad, visited the institutions of education in the Old World, and sought for all the light that could be obtained in other countries, and the results of his observation were given in the Common School Journal; so that, while the public bore no part of the charge, it received the entire benefit of his travels. In addition to all these labors, he became involved officially in some uncomfortable and protracted controversies, — one with the editor of "The Christian Witness," through Edward A. Newton, Esq., another with the Rev. Matthew Hale Smith, and another with the "thirty-one Boston schoolmasters." The publications, on his part, to which these controversies gave rise, amount to a good-sized volume. While Secretary of the Board of Education, he delivered the oration, at the request of the municipal authorities of Boston, on the 4th of July, 1842, which was reprinted over and over again, and circulated, and is still circulating, in all parts of the Union, everywhere awaking the people to the supreme importance of education. It is a work too powerful in its statements, too brilliant in its composition, and too potent in its influence, to be omitted in the catalogue of its author's services.

When the voice of the people, in the Congressional district so long illustrated by the genius and heroism of the patriot Adams, summoned Horace Mann to represent them in

the national legislature, all acknowledged that he was the fittest person to take the place thus suddenly vacated, and his fellow-citizens, in parting with him in the service of the State, were reconciled to the event by the assurance, that his influence would be devoted to the diffusion through the nation, and to the establishment over its boundless territories, of those blessings of education he has done so much to perpetuate and multiply in his native Commonwealth.

The last legislature demonstrated the sense the people entertain of his services and worth by the honor of a renewed appointment to superintend the reprint of his Tenth Report, and by a grant of two thousand dollars, to remunerate him, in part, for his great personal sacrifices in the public cause. These measures passed unanimously, the latter after debate, in both houses.

In September, 1848, the Board of Education unanimously elected the Rev. Barnas Sears, D. D., of Newton, as the successor of Mr. Mann in the office of their secretary. Of him it is enough to say, that his great learning, his experience, and his high character fully justify the appointment. He is as remarkably adapted to conduct the educational administration of the Commonwealth, in this stage of its progress, as his predecessor was for his period of service. The traits of mind we have noticed in Mr. Mann led him to form a very exalted *beau ideal* of education, and his eloquence often indulged in the contrast between that ideal standard and the present condition of the schools, in such highly wrought strains as sometimes to produce an unfavorable effect. The suggestion occasionally arose, that present attainments were disparaged, and that what had been done was too much lost sight of, in the contemplation of what might and ought to be done. A feeling of dissatisfaction, amounting almost to despair, occasionally, in his mind, and in the minds he addressed, overclouded and overwhelmed that hopeful faith and cheerful assurance which are the very soul of enthusiasm. From this cause, the want of sympathy and partial alienation between Mr. Mann and a portion of the schoolmasters, and which finally exploded in a controversy just alluded to, in a great measure, probably sprung. The evil was a necessary incident of the very genius which fitted Mr. Mann for his great work, and while it produced a momentary collision, finally cured itself, and wrought great good in the end. The prudence, moderation of temperament, practical sagacity, pa-

tience, and perseverance of Dr. Sears will be found to be just what is wanted, and we predict a career of service most satisfactory to himself and beneficial to the public.

The legislature of 1849 is allowed, we believe, to have contributed its full share of benefit and patronage to the cause of education. It has taken the normal schools into a closer connection with the government, by directing the Committee on Education to visit them, and by an increased appropriation for their support. It has given to school-districts, and to undistricted towns and cities, unlimited discretion in taxing themselves for the purchase of libraries, and the necessary school apparatus. It has altered the ages upon which the school statistics are based, which before were "from 4 to 16," to "from 5 to 15," thus providing the data by which justly to estimate the extent to which the privileges of the common schools are actually enjoyed by the rising generation of the State, and from which more effectual provisions of law may be constructed and applied to diminish and remove what is the great obstacle to the full and complete operation of our system,—habitual absences, truancy, and entire non-attendance. But the great work of the last legislature in this department, and that which may be considered as crowning the movement in favor of the schools it has been the main purpose of this article to describe, was the law "relating to the State library," together with the law "in relation to the office of the Secretary of the Board of Education." By these enactments, EDUCATION is made a DEPARTMENT of the administration and government of the Commonwealth, and the Secretary of the Board of Education is placed on a level with the heads of the state department, of the treasury, and of the militia,—the spacious and convenient apartments of the library are placed under his control, and appropriated to his uses, and he is provided with a clerk and all the necessary conveniences and allowances.

The work will undoubtedly go on with increased vigor from year to year. It has acquired a momentum that will overcome all obstructions and receive new impulses, from the law and the people, for ever. It is not for us to predict what favorable measures will next be adopted by the wisdom of the legislature. Probably, the school fund will be made to operate more effectually, and in greater accordance with the design of its establishment. More decisive measures will be taken to prevent ignorance from preparing any por-

tion of the young for crime, and to bring about the glorious day when it may be said, "Not a child can be found in Massachusetts into whose mind education has not opened a passage for truth and wisdom." And an enlightened, candid, impartial, and truly liberal spirit will bring the Commonwealth into just relations to all its institutions of learning, from the colleges to the infant schools.

C. W. U.

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#### ART. VI. — THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.\*

VOLTAIRE, elated by the rapid progress of infidel principles in his day, predicted, that, in the nineteenth century, the Bible would be known only as a relic of antiquity. In a few months, one half of the century will have passed; and, from present indications, it does not appear probable that his prediction will be verified. A glance at the world, with reference to the interest now felt in the Bible, affords no reason for apprehension or discouragement. At the time when the sad prophecy was uttered, there were, it is supposed, but about five millions of Bibles in the world. Now, according to the best estimates, the number will not fall much short of fifty millions, and the interest lately manifested for the circulation of the sacred Scriptures finds no parallel in former times. The organization of Bible societies for the purpose of supplying, as far as practicable, the whole world with the record of Divine revelation, may be regarded as one of the noblest enterprises of modern times. Through their agency, millions of the human race have received the sacred volume, and many, we hope, have been thereby "made wise unto salvation."

The British and Foreign Bible Society may properly be regarded as the parent of all similar institutions now existing throughout the world. Some feeble attempts to establish Bible societies had previously been made; but their opera-

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\* *History of the American Bible Society, from its Organization to the Present Time.* By W. P. STRICKLAND, one of the Society's Agents. With an Introduction by N. L. RICE, D. D., of Cincinnati. Embellished with a Likeness of the Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL. D., First President of the Society. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. pp. xxx. and 466.

tions and success were comparatively small. That society was formed in 1804, and has issued twenty millions of copies of the Bible. We do not propose, at this time, to dwell particularly on its history. There is one incident, however, connected with its operations on this continent, during the last war with Great Britain, which is worthy of being recalled. A very full account of the transaction is given by the Rev. J. Owen, in his *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. We are obliged to abridge the account to bring it within our limits.

In the month of June, 1813, a supply of Bibles and Testaments, destined by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, was captured by an American privateer, brought into Portland, and there sold and dispersed. As soon as this fact became known to the Bible Society of Massachusetts, a determination was taken, by the managers of that institution, to replace the value of the Bibles and Testaments; their secretary was directed to ascertain, by correspondence, to whom the amount of the property captured should be transmitted, and to express the regret of the Massachusetts Bible Society that such an occurrence had taken place. In the mean time, a subscription was opened at Boston, to raise a sufficient sum, without diverting the funds of the Massachusetts Bible Society from their regular object; and such was the eagerness manifested by the citizens of Boston to shake off from their country the disgrace of this transaction, that, in the course of a few days, double the sum required was contributed, and it might, as appears, have been easily increased to an almost indefinite amount. A sum sufficient to cover the cost of the Bibles and the expense of insurance was transmitted to the British and Foreign Bible Society, accompanied by a letter from the Rev. S. C. Thacher, of which the following is the conclusion: —

“ We have thus done what we can to express our shame and regret at this occurrence, and to repair the evil which it has occasioned. We indulge the hope that we shall not again have to number it among the calamities of a war in which we cannot cease to regret that two nations, allied in feelings, habits, interests, language, and origin, should be engaged, that it counteracts, in any degree, the exertions of any of the charitable institutions of Great Britain, or tends to loosen or break that golden chain of mutual benevolence, which ought to bind together the disci-

ples of Christ, of every nation and clime, without regard to political animosities." \*

The Society whose history Mr. Strickland has just prepared is second only, of its kind, in the amount of its resources and the magnitude of its operations, to "The British and Foreign Bible Society." There is probably no other institution in the country whose history would interest so large a number of readers, of every party and sect, and of every degree of intellectual culture. All denominations of Christians, who make, or profess to make, the sacred Scriptures the ground of their faith, must desire to know something of the success which has attended the efforts to place the Bible in the hands of all who are capable of reading its pages. It was highly proper, therefore, that such a work should be prepared for the public; and the author's position, as one of the Society's agents, would seem to give him that interest in his subject, and that familiarity with the details which it involves, which are so necessary to the historian.

The American Bible Society was organized in May, 1816. A convention of delegates from different parts of the country assembled for the purpose, at New York. They represented various forms of Christian faith. It was the first time since the settlement of the country that the different religious denominations had been brought together for concerted action.

Mr. Strickland says : —

"They presented to the world a model of an evangelical alliance, having for its basis the true catholic doctrine, — *the Bible*, — God's revelation to man, the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice, — the right and duty of private interpretation. The great object for which they had assembled was, not to investigate its claims as a rule of faith, or to debate the question of the right of private judgment, but to enter at once upon the work of devising means for its universal circulation, without note or comment, among all nations, of whatever name; or country, or caste, or color, 'excluding, by its very nature, all local feelings, party prejudices, and sectarian jealousies.' They declared themselves 'leagued in that, and that alone, which calls up every hallowed, and puts down every unhallowed principle, the dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they may be required. In such a work,

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\* Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. II. p. 488.



whatever is dignified, kind, venerable, true, has ample scope, while sectarian littleness and rivalries can find no avenue of admission.' " — p. 30.

Notwithstanding the liberal spirit which called them together, there was, at one time, danger that a division might arise and frustrate the object of the meeting. Dr. Beecher, in a communication which he has furnished to Mr. Strickland respecting the origin of the Society, gives the following striking account of the matter : —

" There was but one short moment in our proceedings when things seemed to tangle, and some feelings began to rise. At that moment Dr. Mason [Rev John M. Mason, D. D., of New York] rose hastily, and said, 'Mr. President, the Lord Jesus never built a church but what the devil built a chapel close to it; and he is here now, this moment, in this room, with his finger in the ink-horn, not to write your constitution, but to blot it out.' This sudden address convulsed the convention with laughter, which in a moment dispelled the storm and revealed a clear sun, which instantly perceiving, he said, 'There! there! he has gone already to his blue brimstone.' " — pp. 26, 27.

The particular cause of the danger thus singularly and successfully removed is not stated. No other difficulty arose to interrupt the harmonious action of the Society, until the year 1835, when an unhappy collision with the Baptists, in relation to the rendering of the word *βαπτίζω* in the foreign translations, led to a division. The Baptists seceded, and organized the " American and Foreign Bible Society." We shall allude to this subject again in another place.

The American Bible Society has two separate objects to accomplish : — first, to extend the circulation of the commonly received English version in this country ; and secondly, to supply, as far as practicable, translations into the various spoken and written languages of the earth.

" The first field, both in regard to order and importance, in the estimation of the Society, in reference to occupancy and cultivation, was the *home field*. During the first year of the Society's operation, eleven thousand five hundred and fifty copies of the Bible were printed, and six thousand four hundred and ten copies were sent out from the Depository and distributed all over the country, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, carrying joy and gladness to the destitute in many desolate places." — p. 74.

The income of the Society has been steadily increasing, and the issue of Bibles has kept pace with this enlargement of its means. In 1848, the number printed was seven hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred. The number issued was six hundred and fifty-five thousand and sixty-six.

“Through its faithful allies, the auxiliaries, the Society has sent the Bible into every nook and corner of our land. It has circulated it in every State and Territory, in every county, and city, and village. In the Sabbath school and common school, in the college and seminary; in the hotel and asylum, and hospital and prison; among soldiers, and sailors, and slaves; on sea and on land, at home and abroad, everywhere has it, in its beneficence, sent the Gospel of salvation.” — p. 80.

Notwithstanding the great, and, to some considerable degree, successful efforts of the Society to supply our country with the Bible, there is still room for further labor in this field. Mr. Strickland presents some facts in regard to Bible destitution which are likely to startle the reader. In the State of Virginia, he says there are fifteen thousand families destitute of the Scriptures.

“In Western Virginia, nearly one half of the white families were without the Bible, and this is put down as a low estimate by those who have made the exploration.” — p. 296.

“[In] Ohio, the third State in the Union, filled with an active and enterprising population, second to none for her zeal in the promotion of schools and churches, and amongst the earliest in the Bible field, there is a destitution amounting to about one fifth of the families in the State.” — *ib.*

“In Massachusetts, there are hundreds of families unblessed by the light of the written Word. Plymouth county, for ever consecrated as the spot where pilgrim feet were permitted for the first time to stand upon a free soil, was explored about three years since, and hundreds of families were found without the Bible. One would think this a fancy sketch, were it not sustained by cold New England facts.” — p. 295.

Several other specific instances of Bible destitution are given, showing that much yet remains to be done in our own country. In a population of twenty-two millions, there are, according to our author, at the least calculation, one million five hundred thousand destitute to be supplied. Although the fact does not appear in the work, we presume that the greater part of these are foreign immigrants.

The constitution of the Society requires that its issue of English Bibles be confined to the version in common use, and generally known as King James's version. We shall have a remark to make by-and-by, qualifying the prevailing opinion which attributes to King James the suggestion and patronage of this version. This restriction, however, to a commonly acknowledged or standard version is a wise provision of the constitution. Though this version is far from being faultless, it is perhaps as good a one as could be agreed upon by those most interested in the circulation of the Bible. The proposition for a new version would be likely to lead to a controversy that would do more harm than good. Yet it appears to us, that some slight verbal alterations, not affecting any disputed doctrine, might be made by the general consent of the various denominations represented in the Society. The orthography and punctuation have sometimes been corrected, more truly to express the original meaning of a sentence. Why may not some verbal alterations be made for the same reason? We would not advise an alteration in any case, except where the present translation is obviously erroneous, or where the meaning of words has changed in the progress of time. Some words, not in common use at the present day, have been changed, by the English editors of the Bible, for others more easily understood, and the changes have been adopted in this country. We give a few instances. In Deuteronomy i. 11, for "moe," we have "more." Jeremiah xv. 7, "sith" is changed to "since." Luke i. 37, "unpossible" is altered to "impossible." Acts xxi. 11, "oweth" is altered to "owneth." Acts xxviii. 13, "fet" to "fetched." There are, however, many words still retained, which ought to be altered. Take, for instance, Exodus xxxviii. 8. No reasonable person could object to the substitution of "mirrors," for "looking-glasses." Yet this singular rendering has been continued through all the editions. The translators considered the terms synonymous. True, all looking-glasses are mirrors, but all mirrors are not necessarily looking-glasses. In this case the mirrors were of brass, and were used for the purpose of making the brazen laver: — "And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the *looking-glasses* of the women," &c. No one supposes that a miracle was performed in this case. Yet by the present rendering a miracle is required.

Another restriction in the constitution requires the copies of the Bible circulated by the Society to be "without note or comment." How far the retaining of the translators' statements of the contents of each chapter and the heading of the pages trespasses upon this provision, may admit of some difference of opinion. We wish they were entirely omitted; for they are not sufficiently expressive and accurate to be valuable as helps to the reader, they are very imperfect as summaries of the contents of the chapters, and in many cases they embarrass the sense, and pass unwarranted decisions on the doctrinal or historical meaning of some passages.

We have already intimated that King James has no just claims to be considered the originator or patron of this translation. He, in fact, had very little to do with it, except to *allow* it to be made and published. The credit of first proposing a new translation belongs to the Rev. Dr. John Reynolds, a Puritan divine of Oxford. The king merely acceded to the proposition, and accepted as satisfactory a list of persons named by others as translators. Robert Barker, the printer, paid the entire expenses attending the translation. Not a shilling came from the purse of King James or from the English treasury. When it was completed, no proclamation of the king or act of Parliament commanded the use of this version. It came into use gradually, and in less than half a century superseded the Genevan and Bishop's Bibles, which were at first its principal rivals.\*

This version has attained a preëminence, in point of circulation, not only over all other translations of the Bible in every language, but over all other books. Between twenty and thirty millions of copies are now in circulation, according to the most reliable estimates. The sun in his circuit shines upon no land where this book is not known and read.

In England, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the royal printer in London, claim the exclusive right to print the authorized version of the Bible without note or comment. This odious monopoly has been the cause of considerable complaint; but all attempts to extend the privilege of printing the Bible have proved unavailing. Various expedients have been adopted to evade the penalty for infringing this prerogative. One of the most ingenious methods of doing this is the printing of one or two lines of notes

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\* Anderson's Annals, Vol. II. p. 384.

on comments at the extreme foot of the page. There being no restriction on Bibles published with a commentary, the printer thus escapes a fine. The Bible may be sold in sheets or boards, and the binder can, if he chooses, cut off these notes without injury to the volume. The exclusive prerogative was long claimed by the crown, on account of the supposed patronage originally extended to the translators by King James. The propriety of continuing this monopoly has been warmly advocated for another reason. It has been supposed, that, by thus limiting the number of authorized printers of the Scriptures, greater accuracy in printing would be secured. Notwithstanding the great care which has been exercised in this respect, many singular typographical errors have occurred at various times. In one of the early editions, the little, though important, word "not" was omitted in the seventh commandment. In another edition, the first verse of the fifty-third Psalm reads, — "The fool saith in his heart there is *a* God," instead of "*no* God." In an edition printed in 1819, by the king's printer, 1 Corinthians viii. 6 reads, — "to us *three* is but one God," instead of "*there* is but one God."

In 1638, an error occurred in printing Acts vi. 3, which was copied in several subsequent editions. The word "ye" was accidentally printed instead of "we." This apparently trifling error has sometimes been unjustly charged upon the Independents and Presbyterians, as a wilful corruption intended to favor their particular views of church government. The venerable presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States has recently revived this oft-refuted charge, and traced to its introduction a long list of deplorable consequences.\* But his premises and conclusions have been proved to be false in every particular.

Great Britain did not allow the printing of the English Bible in this country whilst we were mere colonies. The first English Bible bearing an American imprint was published in 1782, within the memory of some persons now living.

The second object of the American Bible Society is to supply translations of the Bible for foreign lands, and for the various Indian tribes in our own country. This is by no means an easy work. Where satisfactory vernacular versions existed, they have been very properly adopted, and

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\* See "The Motto of Jubilee College, &c.," Vol. I. No. 7, May 22, 1849. [A reference is made to this matter in a subsequent page of this number. — Eds.]

editions of them have been printed or purchased for gratuitous distribution. But where a version is to be made for an Indian tribe with no written language, or a people whose language is but partially understood by the translator, the task is one of great difficulty, and, we cannot but think, of doubtful utility. It appears to us that quite too much stress has been laid on the importance of these translations. What a vast amount of precious time and talent was lost in the production of that monument of patience and zeal, Eliot's Indian Bible! Yet not a man living can now read its pages. If a tithe of the toil and expense bestowed on that volume had been spent in teaching the Indians the first rudiments of the English language, and the first principles of the Christian religion, more good would have been accomplished.

The difficulties attending the translation of the Bible into the modern Oriental languages are very great. With the utmost care, the translator cannot feel sure that he has selected the right words to express the sense of the original text. A protracted controversy, not yet concluded, between the translators and missionaries in China, shows the importance of a more thorough knowledge of the language before a translation of the Bible is made. One party maintains that the Hebrew word *Elohim* (God) has been rendered by a Chinese word, embracing not only the idea of the one true God, but also including numerous other lesser deities.

Rev. Mr. Malcom, in his visit to Asia, in the year 1836, discovered some singular instances of errors in the translation of the Bible. He says : —

“ The anxiety for an immediate production of books has caused the publication of Scriptures and tracts so imperfect, as to be almost, if not quite useless, and in particular passages quite erroneous. To prove this, and at the same time show the sort of errors to which I allude, I will give a few instances which were mentioned to me, taken from distinct and different versions. John i. 1 : ‘ In the beginning was the word, and the word was with the Lord God Boodh, and the word was the Lord God Boodh.’ Exodus iii. 2 : ‘ The Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire, in the knot of a tree.’ Acts i. 8 : ‘ Ye shall receive the power of life and death.’ Matthew v. 3 : ‘ Blessed are the destitute of life.’ 1 Cor. v. 6. ‘ A little crocodile crocodileth the whole lump ! ’ ” \*

The most singular, if not the most ridiculous and absurd, attempt to adapt a version of the Scriptures to the capacities

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\* Travels in Southeastern Asia, Vol. II. p. 255.

of the ignorant, was made by the British and Foreign Bible Society when they printed a version of the New Testament for the English negroes in Surinam. These negroes have no distinct language, but speak what is called *Talkee-talkee*, a strange lingo, compounded of original African words, of clipped and softened English words, and of violently-treated Portuguese words. Their missionaries, the Moravians, instead of attempting to teach the negroes pure English, or Dutch, recommended and urged the Bible Society to print an edition of the New Testament from a manuscript version which had long been in use at Surinam, in the abominable *patois* spoken by the slaves. Great benefit was predicted to result to the missionaries and their converts from the undertaking, though the Society brought upon itself smart censures and much ridicule for the seemingly irreverent and ludicrous character of the volume which they published. It was very elegantly printed in octavo form, large type, in London, in 1829. Nearly all of the copies were transmitted to the people for whose use they were prepared, and their arrival and distribution among the negroes caused great excitement. A very few copies were retained in England, as bibliographical and philological curiosities, and they have now become very scarce. One of them was recently offered to the public, in London, at the sale of the library of the late Duke of Sussex, and was sold for three pounds ten shillings. Its original cost could not have exceeded two or three shillings.

We have a copy of this extraordinary volume of gibberish before us, and have looked it over for the purpose of finding a specimen which shall have in it nothing more offensive than what characterizes the whole of the work. The reader may form some just idea of what specimens might be selected when he is told that the word *virgin* is rendered, in this version, *wan njoe wendje*.

We will take a few verses from the benedictions, Matt. v. :—

“1. Ma teh Jesus si da piple, a go na wan bergi tappo, a go sidom, en dem discipel va hem kom klossibei na hem.

“2. En a hoppo hem moeffe, a leri dem, a takki :

“3. Boenne heddi va dem, dissi de poti na hatti : bikasi Gado-kondre de vo dem.

“4. Boenne heddi va dem, dissi de sari na hatti : bikasi hatti va dem sa koure.”

Which we may venture to translate half way back again into English as follows :—

"1. But when Jesus see the people, he go after one mountain-top, he go sit down, and them disciple for him come close by after him.

"2. And he open him mouth, and learn them, and talk :

"3. Good is it for them, these the pretty in heart, because God's country is for them.

"4. Good is it for them, these the sorry in heart, because heart for them so cheery."

Perhaps we should ask pardon of our readers for having thus given what may seem to some of them a burlesque of Scripture. But our purpose has been good. Is it wise for missionaries to repeat any labors which may seem to make any approach to these extreme examples of accommodating the Bible to the ignorance and barbarism of some of the objects of their evangelical efforts? Did not the pastor Oberlin take the better course when he taught pure French to the dwellers in the Ban de la Roche, instead of adopting their own *patois*?

It appears that the American Bible Society has already, at an expense of three hundred thousand dollars, assisted in translating, printing, and circulating the Bible in upward of fifty different languages. It may be doubted whether a great amount of good has been accomplished by expending so much on foreign translations, whilst a wide field for our own vernacular version is unsupplied.

Mr. Strickland states in his Preface, that he has made no attempt whatever at embellishment, his object having been to present a plain, unvarnished narrative of facts, as they have occurred in the operations of the Society. For this purpose he consulted with great care the printed reports, circulars, and letters of instruction issued by the board, from time to time, and embracing a period of many years. He found, that, to give full and intelligible information in regard to almost any important topic connected with the Society, the whole field of its operations must be searched, and the scattered fragments, lying here and there, must be gathered up and arranged. This required no small amount of patient care and labor, and the author is entitled to the thanks of the public for the apparent fidelity with which he has performed his work. He has presented, in a concise and convenient form, a great number of facts of much interest to the reader. In another edition, which, from the general interest felt in the subject,



we presume will soon be called for, we venture to suggest that an improvement in the arrangement of his matter may easily be made, by transferring to the Appendix, where they properly belong, the constitution of the Society, the long list of officers and agents, the catalogue of books in the library, and the details of donations to the Society.

In matters relating strictly to the history of the American Bible Society, we are willing to receive the accounts of Mr. Strickland as correct, without any other than a general reference in the Preface to his authorities. But, beyond this, we think the author should have furnished notes and references to enable the reader to verify or correct his statements. We notice several errors, not very important certainly, yet showing a carelessness in these minor matters by no means justifiable in one who attempts to state historical facts with minuteness.

In his first chapter, Mr. Strickland says:—"Seventeen years before the landing of the Pilgrims, the translation of the Bible by King James had been made, and the edict by Henry the Eighth which restricted its reading to royalty, and barred access to all the rest of mankind, was revoked, and the living oracles were opened to all who could procure them."—p. 18.

As King James's translation first appeared in 1611, and the landing of the pilgrims was in 1620; it is not easy to discover by what process in arithmetic the author makes the difference in these two important events to be seventeen years. Nor did the statute of Henry the Eighth restrict the reading of the Bible to royalty. Noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, being householders, were permitted to read the volume on certain conditions, and whatever restriction had been imposed was soon removed. Numerous editions of the various versions were issued during the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Elizabeth, and it was partly on account of this variety and the desirableness of having a uniform standard, and partly on account of the king's dislike to the Geneva or Puritan version, that he consented to the translation, or, more properly, revision, which is now in common use.

On page 136, Mr. Strickland says:—"In 1526, William Tyndale translated the New Testament, and, eleven years afterwards, the entire Bible." Applying once more the simplest of arithmetical rules to the author's statements, it will be found that he asserts that Tyndale translated the entire Bible in the year 1537,—a period some time after his

death. The fact is, Tyndale never translated the entire Bible. He contemplated doing so, but, being imprisoned and put to death on account of his heretical opinions, was not able to accomplish his purpose. The edition referred to is sometimes credited to Tyndale from the circumstance that the initials "W. T." appear at the end of the Old Testament, "as if," says Lewis, "it was all translated by him, though this is not true." (p. 106.) John Rogers, the proto-martyr in Queen Mary's persecuting reign, was the editor of this Bible, under the assumed name of Thomas Matthews. The opinion of the king relative to the circulation of English Bibles was not at that time considered sufficiently favorable to render it safe for the editor to place his real name upon the title-page. This error, of attributing to Tyndale the translation of the entire Bible, may have originated with Strype. It has often been repeated. But a contemporary historian states the matter so explicitly as to leave no room for doubt as to the part performed by Tyndale. Hall's Chronicle was published during the reign of Henry the Eighth, and but a few years after the death of Tyndale. The author says:—"William Tyndale translated the New Testament, and first put it into print; he likewise translated the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judicum, Ruth, the books of Kings and books of Chronicles, Nehemiah, and the first of Esdras and the prophet Jonas: *and no more of the Holy Scripture.*"\*

On page 335, in the catalogue of books belonging to the library of the Society, the author gives the following title:—"Eliot's Indian Bible, 1635." Two editions of this remarkable work were issued; but the former of these was not printed till more than a quarter of a century after the date named above.

In the same catalogue, on page 336, we find "New Testament, Tyndale's Version, 1526." If there be such an edition of the New Testament in the library, the Society have secured a very great treasure. The only perfect copy of the edition heretofore known to be extant is in the library of the Baptist College in Bristol, England; and so valuable was it esteemed by the former proprietor, that he settled a life annuity of £20 on the fortunate discoverer of the volume. Probably the copy in the Bible Society's library is of the English *reprint* of 1836, or the American one of 1837.

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\* Newcome's Historical View of English Biblical Translations, p. 24.

On page 140 the author says : — “ The authorized printers of the Bible at Oxford University published a *fac-simile* of the first edition of King James, in order that it might be compared with modern editions.” This is not correct, inasmuch as the first edition was a folio volume printed in black letter, and the reprint is of quarto size and Roman letter. All modern editions are, or should be, verbatim reprints of the first ; the one alluded to by Mr. Strickland was a literal reprint, the original orthography, which has been commonly modernized in recent editions, being restored.

Giving the author all due credit for intended impartiality, we cannot but think he has sometimes erred in his manner of alluding to other denominations than that to which he belongs, which is the Methodist. Not that there is any bitterness or severity manifested toward others, unless it be in the case of the Roman Catholics. Yet we would prefer, in a work of this kind, that the reader should not discover, from the casual remarks of the author, in what direction his prejudices and predilections tend. Something may be pardoned in a person writing on the subject of the diffusion of the Scriptures, for speaking warmly of the opposition experienced from the Roman Catholics ; but the personal allusion to a Roman Catholic bishop in one of our cities as “ having a face to suit all political phases,” is certainly in bad taste, if not in bad spirit ; and the charge of supposed ignorance against the same bishop comes with an ill grace from one who himself mistakes or misrepresents the very matter in question. Mr. Strickland says : — “ He might have been ignorant of the fact, that the first Congress printed and circulated the Bible. Had he been as conversant with the history of this country as he is with monkish legends and Latin masses, he certainly would have known the views,” &c.

Now, in fact, neither the first Congress, nor any subsequent one, has ever printed and circulated the Bible. In 1777, a resolve respecting the importation of Bibles was passed in Congress by a bare majority, — seven States voting in the affirmative, and six in the negative ; but, as appears by the printed journal, the further consideration of the matter was postponed, nor does it appear ever again to have been resumed. The only edition of the Bible with which Congress has ever in any way been connected was one printed and sold in 1782, by Robert Aitkin, of Philadelphia. It was, however, a private enterprise. At the request of the pub-

lisher, Congress appointed a committee to examine the work, and passed a vote recommending it to the public, not because of its expense or elegance, for it was a very ordinary edition, but merely to aid the publisher. But to state that Dr. Beecher, Bishop McIlvaine, and the other respectable persons whose certificates of recommendation appear at the end of Mr. Strickland's volume, printed and circulated the "History of the American Bible Society," would be no more of an error than the implied assertion in the above quotation.

Should the Roman Catholic bishop see the work, what will he say to the author's statement on page 138 : — "In 1609 the *Rhemish* version was made at Douay"? Perhaps he may ask, in return, if the Oxford Protestant Bibles are not printed at Cambridge, — if St. John's Gospel was not written by Matthew, or Milton's *Paradise Lost* by Shakspeare.\*

On page 21 we find the following sentence : — "In all Catholic countries, it [the Bible] is a condemned and prohibited book." Yet there are many statements in the volume which contradict this assertion. On page 170 we read, — "There is but one diocese in Mexico [a Catholic country] which prohibited the circulation of the Bible." "In France there are hundreds of priests engaged in the work of distribution." "In France, nominally a Papal country, the word of God has an unrestrained circulation." (p. 185.) Concerning the Spanish colonies of South America, where the Catholic religion prevails, we find, on page 179, — "The demand for the Scriptures continued to increase in all parts of the country ; persons of rank in church and state became interested in their perusal, and multitudes were seen with avidity to purchase and read the word of God."

We regret that the author should have indulged in a tone of disparagement, whenever he has alluded to the Roman Catholics. Probably no denomination of Christians in our country has less sympathy with the Church of Rome than that to which we belong. Yet we deprecate this course from principle and from policy. It is unjust and unwise. Let us use all the opportunities afforded by the Roman Catholics for spreading the Scriptures among their people, and encour-

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\* Mr. Strickland is not the first Protestant writer who has thus blundered respecting the name of the Roman Catholic version of the Bible. The New Testament translated at Rheims in 1582 is not improperly called the *Rhemish* Testament. But the Old Testament — and the whole Bible after 1609, the year when it was translated — takes its name from Douay, where the translators resided, and where this Bible was first published.

age them to grant us still greater opportunities, by showing them that it is from an interest in their best welfare that we desire them to read the Bible, and not from hatred to their Church. The truths of the Scripture are "mighty to the pulling down of strongholds." Often, a Bible would be received by a Roman Catholic, if unaccompanied with a denunciation of the Church. The British Bible Society, by pursuing a mild, gentle, and conciliatory course in this matter, has gained many Bible distributors in Roman Catholic countries.

Those who have written on the subject, we fear, have not always been careful to state the exact truth relating to the difficulties existing in such countries concerning the free use of the Bible. In our last number we noticed some recent evidences of a disposition amongst the Roman Catholics to furnish the Bible to all who desired to possess copies. Many more such facts might be mentioned.

There is another subject intimately connected with the above, and deserving particular attention. We mean the tone of exaggeration in which Protestant writers have too often indulged relative to the scarcity of copies of the Bible before the Reformation. Contrasted with the meridian splendor of our present privileges, those were indeed the dark ages. Yet there were always bright stars shining ever during that midnight darkness. Whilst rejoicing in the freedom of access to the sacred Scriptures which so many now enjoy, justice has not been done to those who in former times preserved the Scriptures with care and fidelity, and handed them down to us so free from alteration or corruption. The popular belief, that, before its translation by Luther, the Bible was a sealed book, but little known and lightly prized, carefully kept from the people by the Church, and never read except by the learned, and in a language which none but the learned could understand, is based on the too highly colored statements of enthusiastic partisan historians. Whilst we are ready to express our unqualified belief, that the fullest and freest circulation and use of the Bible are the legitimate fruits of the Reformation alone, we cannot but thank God that even in the darkest days there were many more than is generally supposed, who were interested in the preservation and perusal of the sacred Scriptures.

Probably no recent writer has done so much to confirm the common error respecting the scarcity of the Scriptures before the Reformation as D'Aubigne, in his fascinating

History. The very great in this country, possessing fear, some other character it important that his statem

Speaking of Luther in : young student spent in t moments he could snat Books being then scarce, i lege to be able to profit by tion. One day (he had be was twenty years of age)

library one after another, authors. One which he opened in its turn drew his attention. He had not seen any thing like it till that hour. He reads the title,— it is a Bible ! a rare book, unknown at that time. His interest is strongly excited ; he is filled with astonishment at finding more in this volume than those fragments of the Gospels and Epistles which the Church has selected to be read to the people in their places of worship every Sunday in the year. Till then, he had thought that they were the whole word of God.” \*

This highly rhetorical representation has been received, by most of the readers of the work who are not French, as sober truth. But a careful consideration of what is therein asserted, and an examination of the facts relating to the subject, will show the falseness and absurdity of D'Aubigne's statement. The Bible a rare book, unknown at that time ! What other book was so well known, or so highly prized by the wise and good ? Let us seek a true view of the matter.

From the time when the sacred penmen closed their labors down to the present day, there has never been any book or collection of books preserved with such assiduous care as the sacred Scriptures. God, having revealed his will and purposes through his commissioned messengers in olden time, committed the record of that revelation to human keeping, and through the agency of the written word has he wrought out most of those great changes in the condition of the world which have so blessed the human race. Until the middle of the fifteenth century, when Guttenberg gave to the world the invaluable art of printing, copies of the Bible could only be multiplied by the slow and costly process of

\* History of the Great Reformation, &c., &c., Vol. I. p. 131. First American Edition. New York. 12mo. 1841.

transcribing. Yet there were always those who were ready and willing to give themselves to the service. Industrious scribes, secluded in monastic cells, cheerfully devoted their lives to the work of carefully copying the sacred Scriptures. The fidelity and beauty with which they performed this duty justly excite the admiration and praise of all who have examined specimens of their industry and skill. No books were copied with so much care and beauty as the Bible, the Psalter, and the Service-Book, which contained portions of the sacred Scripture. These were generally written on the most costly and delicate vellum, illuminated by the best skill of the artist, and adorned with a binding on which gold and gems were profusely lavished. Some Biblical manuscripts were written in letters of gold on the richest purple vellum. Sometimes the covers were of exquisitely carved and inlaid ivory. When the Northern barbarians invaded the South during the Middle Ages, they caused thousands of these beautiful and valuable manuscripts to be destroyed. Nor did monasteries and manuscripts fare much better from the indiscriminate zeal of the early Reformers, and the carelessness or superstition of others in later times. It is remarkable, when we consider the great destruction of manuscripts, that so many should now be found to attest the industry, skill, and fidelity of the scribes in the Middle Ages.

During the early part of the Reformation in England, the monasteries were rifled of their contents, and many beautiful manuscripts mutilated or burned. Quaint old Fuller, after declaring that, no doubt, many of these may have been works of superstition, exclaims, — “ But beside these, what beautiful Bibles ! Rare fathers, subtle schoolmen, useful historians ! Ancient ! Middle ! Modern ! What painful comments were here amongst them ! What monuments of mathematics all massacred together ! ”

In later times, twenty-five thousand manuscripts are said to have been destroyed in France in a single year. When search was made, during the last century, for the costly and valuable Biblical manuscripts procured by Cardinal Ximenes, to be used in preparing his Polyglot, it was ascertained that they had been sold for a paltry sum to a rocket-maker !

Many manuscripts were used, after the invention of printing, by bookbinders. The oldest fragments of a Biblical manuscript known to be in this country were obtained as the covers of a more modern book, purchased by President

Everett in Constantinople in 1819, and now in the library of Harvard University. The large number of manuscripts still to be found in the public and private libraries of Europe, notwithstanding the enormous wilful and accidental destruction, leads us to modify somewhat our notion of the ignorance and indolence of the Middle Ages. Even during those days of degradation and darkness, the principal monasteries had their libraries, and the glory of the library was its magnificent Bible or Bibles. It was a well-known maxim, for centuries, that "a monastery without a library is like a castle without an armoury."\*

But it may be asked, Was not all this labor and beauty bestowed upon a book which only a privileged few could enjoy? Was not the Bible carefully kept from all but the priests, and its general use strictly prohibited by the Church? Was not the Latin Vulgate the only version, and this in a language which the common people could not understand? Certainly not. That there were some restrictions concerning the use of the Scriptures, and that the Church always retained the sole right of interpretation, is undeniable; but these restrictions before the Reformation were not as great as has generally been represented. The fact, that vernacular versions had been made in nearly every country where Christianity was received, shows conclusively that *the people read the Scriptures*. One incident in English history, about a century before the time of Luther, is sufficient to cover this whole matter. When the spread of the Lollard heresy (so called) had alarmed the defenders of church and state, a motion was made in the House of Lords to suppress Wickliffe's translation of the Bible. "Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster," in defending the free use of this and other vernacular versions, is reported to have said, — "We will not be the dregs of all, since other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language"; at the same time declaring, in a very solemn manner, that "he would maintain our having this law in our own tongue, against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill." The Duke was seconded by others, who said, that, "if the Gospel, by its

\* "Clastrum sine armario, quasi castrum, sine armamentario." Peignot, *Dict. de Bibliolog.*, Vol. I. p. 77. This, according to Dibdin, (*Bibliomania*, p. 149,) refers to the sixth century. By a reference to Henry's *History of Great Britain*, (Book III. ch. iv. sec. 1,) it will be found that the same maxim was in use in England at a much later period.



being translated into English, was the occasion of men's running into error, they might know that there were more heretics to be found among the Latins than among the people of any other language. For that the Decretals reckoned no fewer than sixty-six Latin heretics, and so the Gospel must not be read in Latin, which yet the opposers of its English translation allowed. Upon which, it is said, the bill was thrown out of the House." \* Was the Bible, before the invention of printing, the rare and restricted volume that many suppose it to have been ?

A new era in the history of Bible circulation commenced about the middle of the fifteenth century, when greatly increased facilities for the multiplication of copies were afforded, by the invention of the art of printing. There is great significance in the fact, that the first fruits of the printing-press were offered to the world in the form of a magnificent folio Bible.

The Mazarin Bible deserves a somewhat minute description. It is a volume of great interest as a rare typographical curiosity, and especially from the fact, that it was not only the first Bible, but the first book, ever printed. Not many of our readers have probably had the gratification of seeing the precious volume. Only twenty copies are known to be now extant, and although one of these has, by the good taste and generosity of a private individual, been brought to this country, its destination to a private library renders it inaccessible to all but a privileged few. The copy of this rare Bible alluded to was purchased at the sale of the library of Mr. Wilkes in London, in March, 1847, by Mr. George P. Putnam, for Mr. James Lenox, of New York, in whose valuable library it now reposes. The price was £ 500. The duties and expenses made the cost in this country not far from \$ 2500. It is undoubtedly the most costly, as well as the oldest, printed book in this country.

This volume derives its name from the circumstance, that a copy was discovered and brought to light by De Bure, the bibliographer in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. The date of printing is nowhere to be found in the work, but its priority to all other printed books has been established beyond reasonable doubt, by the Rev. Dr. Dibdin, in a learned disquisition communicated to the *Classical Journal*.† By a

\* Lewis's Complete History of Translations, p. 28.

† Vol. IV. No. 8, pp. 471 - 484.

curious manuscript memorandum in the copy at Paris, it appears that that copy was illuminated, rubricated, and bound by Henry Cremer, vicar of the Collegiate Church of St. Stephens, in 1456.

Gutenberg, the printer of this volume, and the inventor of the art, was of noble birth, though his fortune was not large. It has excited the wonder of nearly every bibliographer and historian of the art of printing, that he should have hazarded so much, and taken so bold a flight, as this attempt to publish so costly a work in the infancy of the art. Before he had printed twelve sheets, he had expended more than four thousand florins,—an immense sum in those days. Being unable to continue the work from his own resources, he applied to a rich goldsmith by the name of Fust (sometimes spelt Faust and Faustus). With him he formed a partnership; but Fust, becoming dissatisfied, sued his partner, and obtained possession of the press, types, moulds, and utensils, on which he previously held a mortgage. This was soon after the completion of the Bible. It consisted of two huge folio volumes, printed in double columns, with a very large, clear Gothic or German character. The beauty of the type, the excellence of the paper, and the general splendor and magnitude of the volumes, have won the admiration and praise of all writers who have given attention to the subject. "It was," says Mr. Hallam, "Minerva leaping on earth in her divine strength and radiant armour, ready at the moment of her nativity to subdue and destroy her enemies. We may see, in imagination, this venerable and splendid volume leading up the crowded myriads of its followers, and imploring, as it were, a blessing upon the new art, by dedicating its first fruits to the service of Heaven." Was it a rare book, generally unknown, but lightly prized, and prohibited to the people, on which the first printer spent so much time, toil, and money?

After his dissolution with Gutenberg, Fust formed a copartnership for the purpose of carrying on the business with his son-in-law, Peter Schoeffer, who had been an apprentice to the former firm. They printed, in the year 1457, among other things, a beautiful folio Psalter, which is distinguished, in the annals of bibliography, as the first book bearing the date of its imprint. They also printed, in 1462, the first Bible with a date. It was this edition of 1462, and not the first Bible, as is gener-

ally supposed, which Fust offered for sale in Paris as manuscript. The exact similarity of the copies, together with the cheapness and rapidity with which he was enabled to supply them, led the purchasers to the supposition, that the Devil must be associated with the Bible-seller in his business. The rich goldsmith and printer was glad to escape from Paris with his life.

The printing-press had been in operation half a century. Nearly two hundred editions of the entire Bible in the Latin Vulgate version had been printed ; numerous editions of vernacular versions had been prepared and published for Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Netherlands, and Bohemia ; and a distinguished ecclesiastic of the last-named country had declared, some time previous, that scarcely a Bohemian woman could be found who could not answer any questions respecting either the Old or the New Testament,\* when, according to D'Aubigne, Luther discovered a Bible, "a rare book, unknown at that time"! Was all this work of Bible publication going on without the knowledge or contrary to the canons and edicts of the Church of Rome? Facts will not warrant such a conclusion. As early as 1471, the Bible was printed at Rome, within sight of the Vatican, and with the knowledge of the Pope ; and, the next year, another edition was published there in seven folio volumes, with the commentary of Nicolas de Lyra, — the first commentary on the Scriptures ever printed. At the time when Luther is said to have made the discovery, Sanctes Pagninus, a learned Catholic ecclesiastic of the order of St. Dominic, was engaged at Rome in making a new Latin translation of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek. The Pope, on learning the fact, sent for the translator, and after examining a portion of the manuscript, ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his expense, and gave direction that materials should be provided for printing it.†

At the same time, Cardinal Ximenes, amidst the great cares and responsibilities which devolved upon him in his ecclesiastical and civil offices, was devoting a portion of his precious time and best abilities to the preparation of that wonderful work, the Complutensian Polyglot. It is difficult for us fully to appreciate the munificence of his patronage, the magnitude of the undertaking, or the difficulty of its exe-

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\* Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, p. 526.

† Roscoe's *Leo the Tenth*, Vol. II. p. 282.

cution. Some idea of these may be formed, when we consider that the work consists of six large folio volumes, printed in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, and Latin; that, as there were no types in Spain in the Oriental character, artists were imported from Germany to cast the types in the various languages required, and that fifteen years were employed in its completion. Nine scholars well skilled in the ancient tongues were employed, and at the close of each day met and deliberated with the Cardinal concerning the work. Ximenes, that he might be better able to superintend the publication, commenced at the age of sixty years the study of Hebrew. No care or expense was spared on the work. Four thousand gold crowns were paid for seven Hebrew manuscripts, which, however, unfortunately came too late to be of any use in the compilation. The entire cost of preparation and publication, amounting to the enormous sum of fifty thousand ducats, was defrayed by the liberality of the wealthy Cardinal. "A noble monument of piety, learning, and munificence, which entitles its author to the gratitude of the whole Christian world."

Many others, among the hundreds of editions of the Bible which were printed in the fifteenth century, are worthy of particular notice. For accuracy and beauty of typography, they will advantageously compare with the best specimens of modern times. Sometimes the skill of the engraver was employed to adorn the page of the printer. Our limits will not allow us further to specify or describe these early Biblical productions of the press. But the pages of Pettigrew, Dibdin, Horne, and other bibliographers, will confirm the truth of our remarks respecting the number and excellence of these ante-Lutheran editions.

The fact, that copies of the Bible were so rapidly multiplied and so readily sold, is sufficient, we should think, to convince any reasonable person, that a general interest was felt in the Scriptures, and that their extensive circulation and free use did not suffer from any hostile interference or prohibition of the Roman Church. That Church was then omnipotent in such matters, and could easily have crushed any attempts to act contrary to its wishes or regulations. No Protestant party existed to dispute its authority. That no desire was at that time felt to suppress the reading of the Bible is manifest from the circumstance, that the highest dignitaries of the Church of Rome were the patrons and pro-

moters of its publication. If, in doing this, they unwittingly furnished the weapon which was eventually to accomplish the overthrow of their power, their case is not without a parallel in the annals of history.

The occasional passage of a prohibitory edict respecting the reading of the Bible does not invalidate the view taken above. These edicts were of a limited and local character. A particular version was condemned because the author's name was associated with some new heresy ; or the laity of a certain diocese were altogether forbidden to read the Bible, on account of some prevailing error, supposed to have been derived therefrom. But no *general decree* of the Roman Catholic Church, denying to the people the privilege of reading the Scriptures, can be found before the Reformation.

We would not, by any means, be understood as entertaining the opinion that the Bible was nearly as well known, or generally read, before the Reformation, as since. The contrast between the most favorable portion of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and any period after the Reformation was fully established, is very great. But the ignorance and destitution of former ages, we maintain, were never so great as have been generally represented. We would do justice to those industrious scribes, early printers, and liberal patrons, by whose means copies of the Scriptures were preserved and multiplied. We believe that the Bible has always been watched over and preserved by Divine Providence. Whilst we gladly own that its free circulation has been greatly promoted by the effects of the Reformation, we would call to mind the fact, that the Reformation owes its origin and success to the knowledge of the Bible which previously existed. The influence, undoubtedly, was reciprocal. But too often cause and consequence have been transposed. The glory which has encircled the brow of Luther, as the deliverer of the Bible from bondage and darkness, should be transferred to the Bible. It was this volume which, first shedding its divine light upon his mind, furnished him with the motives and weapons of his warfare.

Since the Reformation, the Bible has sometimes received violent treatment from the Roman Church. But the authority of the Bible has never been denied. The controversy between the Reformers and the Roman Catholics has not been so much concerning the character of the volume, as on the right

of interpreting and deciding on its contents. The Romanists claim the exclusive right to exercise this prerogative. By tradition, its true meaning has always, they maintain, been preserved in the infallible Church alone, and it is the duty of the Church to guard against incorrect translations and false interpretations. Sometimes this prerogative has been exercised in a summary way. The Reformers, *in theory*, asserted the right and duty of each individual to interpret the Scriptures according to his *own* private reason and conscience. Perhaps there is not, in practice, so much difference between Roman Catholics and most Protestant sects, respecting the use and authority of the Bible, as would at first appear. Each has its favorite version, and will not encourage the circulation of any other.

In our language, the Roman Catholic receives the Douay version, the only English translation authorized by the Church. He looks upon all others with distrust, as false and heretical. Many Protestants consider our common English Bible as of nearly equal authority with the original text, and frown upon all attempts to offer the English reader an improved version. The Bible society or Christian sect that should presume to circulate any other English version of the Scriptures than that prepared more than two hundred years ago, would be pronounced heretical, and rendered liable to the anathemas of a vast majority of the Protestant Christians in the country. Even the large and respectable denomination of Baptists, whose strenuousness relative to the rendering of the word *βαπτίζω* in foreign translations led to a rupture with the parent institution, and the formation of a separate Bible Society, has not dared to alter the English version in its issues, though deeming the rendering of the word unsatisfactory.

The Roman Catholic condemns as a heretic the person who discovers and defends an interpretation of the Scriptures different from that which the Church allows. The Protestant, maintaining, in theory, the right of private judgment, too often excommunicates the inquirer whose active mind finds a meaning to God's word not contained in the creed of the sects. All those are considered heretics by the Calvinists who find more or less in the Bible than the doctrines proclaimed as truth by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and contained in that wonderful work, "The Shorter Catechism." Other sects, also, have their tests.

It is sad to see this bondage to creeds, which brings the individual's interpretation of the Scriptures to be tested by the standard of a sect, and assigns him a place with believers or infidels according to its agreement or disagreement with that standard.

Yet there is, we are persuaded, a powerful modifying influence exerted by the Bible, wherever the volume is received and read, which practically nullifies the effect of many false doctrines, tacitly assented to by thousands, though seldom, we hope, believed in the heart. How often has it been found, when two Christians of opposite creeds have entered into a personal explanation, that the supposed difference in their religious views has vanished! Both are orthodox and both are liberal, according to the explanations given. Their motives, affections, and hopes are nearly the same.

The controversy between Romanists and Protestants respecting the Bible did not, we repeat, arise from difference of opinion as to its value or authority, but related entirely to the right of interpretation. The Romanist founds his faith on the Bible, the traditions of the Church, and the decisions of councils. The Protestant appeals to the Bible as alone sufficient to decide all questions of faith and practice. One of the important objects of Luther, therefore, was to furnish his followers with a satisfactory translation in German. This was published in parts, as they were ready, the first appearing in 1522, and the entire Bible in 1534. It is the commonly received opinion among Protestants, that the general circulation of the Bible commenced with this translation. But it will be found by a reference to what follows, that nearly a thousand different printed editions of the whole or a portion of the Bible had appeared before the publication of Luther's version.

Hain and Panzer are justly considered the highest authorities in matters pertaining to bibliography and typography for the first two centuries after the invention of printing. Hain describes only works printed in the fifteenth century. By reference to his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, it will be found that he enumerates and describes 148 different editions of the entire Bible, besides 129 Testaments, Psalms, or other parts of the Scriptures, — making 277 separate editions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, before 1501.

Panzer specifies, between the years 1501 and 1534, (when Luther's Bible was first printed entire,) 141 editions of

the Bible complete, 65 editions of the New Testament, and 343 editions of the Psalms, or other books of the Bible, — making in all 549 editions of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, between 1501 and 1534. By adding these to the number of editions described by Hain, we have an aggregate of 826 editions of the Bible, or parts thereof, printed before the appearance of Luther's German version. A large number of these Bibles were in the vernacular tongues of the various countries of Europe.

It should be borne in mind, that Hain and Panzer have mentioned in their works only the editions which they could identify with a good degree of certainty. Undoubtedly there were many others; but enough are here given to show the absurdity of D'Aubigne's statement respecting the scarcity of the Bible before Luther's discovery of a copy of the "rare book" in the library at Erfurth, and the incorrectness of the popular belief, that, until the translation of Luther appeared, the Scriptures were only read by the priests and the learned in the Latin tongue. We have constructed the following table, to show the number of Bibles that were printed on the Continent before the opening of the sixteenth century. It contains only those editions of the *entire* Bible which have been particularly described.

*Tabular View of Bibles printed in the Fifteenth Century.*

Where printed.	No. of Editions.	Number of Editions printed in each Year.		
Venice,	36	1455, 1.	1480, 8.	1491, 6.
Basle,	18	1462, 1.	1481, 4.	1492, 5.
Nuremberg,	14	1466, 2.	1482, 3.	1493, 1.
Strasburg,	10	1470, 1.	1483, 6.	1494, 6.
Cologne,	9	1471, 4.	1484, 2.	1495, 2.
Augsburg,	7	1472, 1.	1485, 3.	1496, 1.
Paris,	7	1475, 8.	1486, 4.	1497, 5.
Lyons,	6	1476, 5.	1487, 7.	1498, 4.
Mentz,	3	1477, 8.	1488, 2.	1499, 0.
Naples,	2	1478, 5.	1489, 7.	1500, 4.
Rome, Florence, and } other places, }	36	1479, 5.	1490, 3.	
Total,	148	Without date, 24. Total, 148.		

With the progress of the Reformation, the multiplication of copies of the Bible rapidly increased. The early Reformers soon found that the instrument which they had used with such power and success in their attacks upon the faith



and practice of the mother Church could be turned against themselves. For God did not reveal all his truth to them at once. It broke forth by degrees. They, not comprehending this fact, soon began to establish creeds and tests, and to persecute all whose interpretation of the Bible varied from these standards of truth which they had set up. The sad tale of Servetus's sufferings has often been told, but his connection with the publication of the Bible has not been associated with his martyrdom as it should have been. Calvin and Servetus, as is well known, were once warm friends. They had early renounced the authority of the Church of Rome, but Servetus went farther than his companion in rejecting its errors. The doctrines of Transubstantiation and of the Trinity were both held as essential truths by the Catholic Church. Calvin rejected the former, and retained the latter. Servetus rejected both. Their friendship was at an end. Servetus, though by profession a doctor of medicine, frequently indulged his taste for theological pursuits. He published several treatises on doctrinal subjects. The copy of Pagninus's version of the Bible, with the author's manuscript corrections, coming into his hands, he undertook to edit its publication. He prefixed a preface, or address to the reader, and added some short notes. These were supposed to contain heretical sentiments. The book was condemned and the author imprisoned. Having escaped from prison, he imprudently visited Geneva. He was betrayed by Calvin, and, having been tried and convicted for heresy, was condemned to be burnt to death. The Catholics and Calvinists for the first time united to consign a Unitarian to the flames. All the copies of the Bible of his edition that could be found were burnt in the same fire which consumed his body.

Instances might be multiplied of the destruction of Bibles by Catholics and Protestants, sometimes on account of the supposed false or heretical translation, and at others for their typographical errors.

Probably in no country, after the Reformation commenced, was the free circulation of vernacular versions attended with so much difficulty as in England. This may have arisen from the fact, that Henry the Eighth renounced his allegiance to Rome from policy rather than from principle. He, and not the Pope, was to be regarded as the head of the Church. The monarch was in doubt as to the effect

which the general reading of the Bible would have upon his claims to this office. On that account he wavered in his opinions. One day he encouraged the people to study the Scriptures ; the next, he forbade their general use. No confidence could be placed in the permanence of any of his decisions. But at length all restriction on their perusal was removed, and they have attained a circulation greater in the English language than in all others combined. A full account of the various English versions, and a history of their publication, may be found in a former volume of the *Examiner*.\*

Let it not be thought, because we have attempted to show that before the Reformation copies of the Bible were not so scarce as has been erroneously represented, that we are insensible to the high privileges which the present age enjoys in relation to the sacred volume. Nor because we have intimated that Protestants too often, in practice, violated the spirit of their cherished maxim, — “The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants,” — and have required other tests, that we undervalue the efforts of the early Reformers, or lightly prize the position which Protestant Christians now occupy. An untold amount of influence was, we believe, exerted by the Bible in the darkest period of the Middle Ages. The Reformation, civilization, the arts, sciences, and every thing that cheers and blesses the world, owe their existence, either directly or indirectly, to the Bible ; and the doctrines of that volume, we feel confident, are sufficient to overcome all errors, and establish on earth in God’s own good time his kingdom of righteousness and truth.

We bring our remarks to a close with the words of Milton : — “We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God, which he hath left us, as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithful man, whose every part consenting, and making up the harmonious symmetry of complete instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God. And with this weapon, without stepping a foot farther, we shall not doubt to batter and throw down Nebuchadnezzar’s image, and crumble it like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors.”

G. L.

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\* Vol. XIV. p. 327, for July, 1833.

## ART. VII. — THE LIBERTY OF ROME.\*

ROME had another history than that of war. It is this other history which Mr. Eliot has written.

Influences from ancient Rome are still so interwoven in our customs and laws, that there is more than one sense in which she is still the mistress of the civilized world. But such influences are not the results of her conquests in war. Those would have died away and excited our curiosity as little as Prussia's victories, or as Egypt's, had there not been other powers than those of arms in Rome, — to which, indeed, Rome owed her victories. The relics of Roman arms are scarcely more than a turf-covered wall here, or a broken vase of coins discovered there, — a ruined arch, or a furrow-marked camp, which may have been thrown up by Agricola, or perhaps by Theodosius, or perhaps by Edie Ochiltree and the mason-lads of his acquaintance. But of the other history of Rome, all popular institutions are, in one degree or another, the memorials. The municipal legislation of our large towns runs back, through its English precedents, to Roman origin. Our jurisprudence, whether by a direct or indirect connection, is bound to Roman originals. And our every-day government is subjected to strains and difficulties for which the most curious parallel may be found in those of Rome. Mr. Eliot, therefore, not only leaves a closely gleaned field for one hardly entered by our reapers, but he is leaving a narrow field for a wide one, when he passes by the chronicling of mere feats of arms, the details of Italian, Punic, or Asiatic wars, and enters, with his vigorous and contagious enthusiasm, on the history of Roman institutions, from Rome's birth to the overthrow of her liberty.

The book is called a History of Roman Liberty. Yet it ought to be everywhere understood that it is, in fact, a History of Rome. For the reader who should be disappointed, in not finding all the statistics of recruiting, of manœuvring, and of carnage, would deserve his disappointment. The book is simply the History of Rome, from Romulus

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\* *The Liberty of Rome: a History. With an Historical Account of the Liberty of Ancient Nations.* By SAMUEL ELIOT. New York: George P. Putnam. 1849. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 526 and 523.

to Tiberius, developing, with chief care, the means by which Rome gradually gave so much freedom to her citizens, as to call out more and more the power of her citizens, and so to gain her wonderful victories by land and sea, — victories of arms and of diplomacy also. These means of power are the most important subject of history. And, of ancient history especially, the detail of conquest or defeat is useless in comparison. In the outset Mr. Eliot says :—

“ The following work might have been entitled the History of Rome, etc., with a View to describe the Liberty of that and other Ancient Nations ; which I mention, not in order to dilate upon any uncertainties of my own, but simply to guard against misapprehension of the subject I propose to treat. Not believing that liberty is anywhere to be understood or judged according, merely, to the government over any people, but rather, and chiefly, according to the capacity and the cultivation of the people themselves under their government, I have entered upon various narratives and investigations, which would appear misplaced to the reader, if he looked for accounts of institutions or antiquities alone, much more so, if he expected nothing but generalizations or metaphysical inquiries.” — *Preface*, p. 5.

The suggestion here thrown out is certainly well founded. And, on the other hand, the history of a nation is, as certainly, still unwritten, so long as the author confines himself to the annals of its outward actions, without falling behind these, to tell us of its ways and means, — of the inner life by which these actions were wrought. And yet, although, of late years, this has been repeated again and again, and we have been told, till the words are hackneyed, that history ought not to be the annals of war, or the private life of courts only, as it has been so often, still we do not recollect, in our language, so extended and bold an effort to show the possibility of a more profound history as is this book now before us.

We shall give a short sketch of the progress of Roman institutions as Mr. Eliot has traced them. Before attempting this, we have only to speak of the mood with which he follows them, and of the theory of history by which he writes. This mood is the constant and reverential recognition of God's presence in the affairs of men. The author does not write as an annalist ; — not to arrange again, as in an accidental chronology, the fragments which he can find, as if there were no dependence of one on another, or as if there

were no Spirit controlling all and binding each to what preceded, and to what has grown from it. He writes as a theologian. Very carefully, as with our weak sight one must, he looks for the evidences of God's presence, power, and goodness. He speaks to us of Divine power, as exhibited in these bits of bone from which he is rebuilding the skeleton of old Rome, — exactly as the student of natural theology shows us God's contrivance in the mechanism of the hand or foot, when he explains it to us.

It is undoubtedly true, and it ought to be understood, that to look at one event only, and then to speak of God's intention in that alone, is simply absurd, and so irreverent. It is to look at one position of a planet, and from that to pretend to give the planet's orbit. It is to stand in one spot upon a plain, and attempt to state the height of the mountain to which one cannot travel. But if one can see the mountain from two points successively, he has a base line, and can tell its height. If he have three points of the planet's orbit, he has gained an arc from which he can calculate correctly. And just so, when he looks not at one event only, but at the connection of long series of events, in an arc of the great orbit which is measured perhaps by centuries, he may see something of the great law which rules them. And for that law, for that presence of the Infinite Spirit, the true historian is to search; and he will, — unless he boldly holds to the Epicurean God, who leaves his worlds to their own unguided courses, or to men. God is in all history, or he is not in any. We cannot, in our time, take a middle ground. True, we remember certain school histories, perhaps even still in use, which speak of Columbus's discovery and of Washington's retreat from Long Island as two events which were "favored by Providence," while, in the whole career of America from the beginning, they find no other such *intervention*. And we recollect a passage of Gibbon, where, in like mood, we find him groping about for a middle ground. "I remember an observation," he says, "*half philosophical, half superstitious*, that the province of Samaria, which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian, was the same through which the Mahometans afterwards penetrated into the empire." But such instances are of a sort of half-way method of writing, which, after our study of the philosophy of history, is not longer to be endured. The true historian will do as

Mr. Eliot has done, — acknowledge God's law as ruling the whole, and reverently speak of it, when there is a long enough arc of progress for him to trace it with certainty. "This," as Richter says, "is the highest value of history, in so far as by means of it, as by the aid of nature, we can discover and read the Infinite Spirit, who in nature and in history, as with letters, writes to us legibly. He who finds God in the physical world will also find him in the moral, which is history." The bold historian who cannot do this must sweep out from his work all allusion to God's will or power. There is no longer any middle ground for men who, like Gibbon, are "half philosophical and half superstitious."

"Rome was not built in a day." There is almost a fashion among historians to speak as if it were; as if it sprang complete from the Tiber's shore, when Romulus killed Remus. But Mr. Eliot brings into his "First Book," which describes the "Period of Foundation," two hundred and forty-seven years. Beginning with Romulus, A. C. 753, this period ends with the Roman submission to Porsenna, some years after the establishment of the Consulate. The next period — the "Period of Increase" of Roman Liberty — begins, therefore, with the successful popular secession to Mons Sacer.

Of the early legends of Roman history, Mr. Eliot takes this sensible view, that the names, at least, which they mention, are those of living men, and that the institutions which they describe were the actual foundations of the Roman constitution. We may, therefore, use at least the language of those legends in the history of this "Period of Foundation." Without changing our childish associations, we may refresh our youthful acquaintance with Romulus's reign as long and glorious. As early as that time, the original and fundamental divisions of Roman society must have taken form. The Gens, or Name, — a corporation partly civil, partly religious, made up of several allied families, — was in order, then, the first element in the constitution of the Roman state. Thirty Names, or Gentes, then or soon after, constituted the Patrician body. The Senate already existed, and the rudiments of the order of the Equites. And this was all. For although every foray from the Palatine, where this nest of robbers had settled, obtained its reward in captives, who became slaves or clients in the end, the great Plebeian body cannot thus early be well described.

Accepting the mystery of Romulus's death as one not worth exploring, we come to Numa, the second founder of the state, to whose immediate succession to Romulus, taking their names as the names of living men, do we owe it that this robber fortress was not broken up and left without a name, like thousands of its kindred. We tread on firmer ground as we pass along the line of his successors. History seems more genuine as there arises more material for history ; and the Tarquins come and go with quite the same certainty as the characters of the dullest annals, where not even a German can suspect that poetry has created as well as adorned them.

In the fourth of these reigns, Ancus Martius stands forth, as having founded the order of the Plebeians. Founding that, as it proved, he founded the Rome that was to be, — even the Rome of to-day which is questioning every augury to know where and what is to be her future. He conquered a Latin tribe, and endowed its people with certain rights of citizenship, and gave to them a home. Here began the policy on which Rome strengthened herself, on the abandonment of which Rome fell. As Niebuhr says, "by imparting subordinate civil rights to her conquered enemies, she converted them into a body of loyal subjects." And, on the other hand, "the ruin of the Roman republic arose from a stoppage in that development of its political system which, by the admission and elevation of the commonalty, had made the state powerful and glorious, — from the Italian allies not being invested one after another with the Roman franchise." This successful policy of receiving strangers into the rights of citizens has been one of the turning-points of our success in America ; just as the violation of it in the case of the blacks is what the same violation would be in the case of foreign emigrants, — a misery wholly akin to the most terrible diseases of old Rome.

We have not room to go into the details by which the two great bodies now existing, Patrician and Plebeian, were classified, for peace or war. Mr. Eliot's statement, surrounded though he is by difficulties, is clear and consistent. We know whom we have as actors when "the Patrician revolution" took place, and, at the occasion given by the rape of Lucretia, the Patricians throw off the rule of the king, who has been, after all, only "the chief Patrician," and substitute the form — which, for their purposes, is more

convenient — of the Consulate ; a change rather in name or form than in reality. And in our time, if at no other, we are prepared to find that a revolution undertaken with one object brings about many others. We are not surprised, when the Tarquins and royalty have been so easily driven out, to find that this Plebs is proposing its rights and claims, and that henceforth we are to follow the great contest between Plebeian and Patrician.

Beginning, as we have said, with the secession to Mons Sacer, only a few years after the Consulship was established, Mr. Eliot's second period — "of Increase" — extends through two hundred and sixty-eight years. By the end of this time, the wars with Carthage were over, and Rome fairly established, as conqueror, at home and abroad. The Plebeians, who have seceded to Mons Sacer, are allured home only by great concessions. They are the army, and can make their own terms. And with that day appears the Roman Tribune, whose office is born from that collision. Year after year has its new story of new popular rights discovered, claimed, contested, and secured. Those Agrarian laws appear, whose name has been entirely misapplied to the efforts of our modern Socialists. They were simply public land bills, — exciting more popular interest than ours, only because the domain of the state was nearer at hand, and admitted more readily of division among individuals. Our "National Reform" party of two or three years ago, which claimed, for each man who asked, a share in the Western public lands, proposed an ancient agrarian law. Although less like the Roman, Mr. Clay's celebrated "land bill" was also an agrarian law. In the midst of these changes, Mr. Eliot notes "disorder, but progress," and then we have such points as "The Twelve Tables" and "constitutional reforms." Gradually the Plebeian works his way to offices refused before. To soothe the conceding Patricians, some new office is created at the moment of concession, to be occupied by them alone. But still, in time, some bold Plebeian forces himself in, even there. Parties rage ; but there is still wider and wider personal freedom ; and so, in the midst of the transitory hopes and fears of Camillus, Manlius, Licinius, Fabius, and Decius, and the rest, the popular party grows, the Patricians find that they are not destroyed, and a result comes which neither party had sought in these contests, namely, that Rome becomes



a stronger and stronger power without ; by the vigor of her armies of freemen conquers tribe after tribe, till she is mistress of all Italy, all Sicily, and half of Gaul. And then comes the long, wavering struggle with Carthage. If this were not surely history, it would seem to have been written out as the melodramatic narrative, which should, in short compass and with bold contrast, compare the energies of a state of merchant princes, ruling over their fellow-citizens, with those of a state of freer institutions, — so distinctly is the alacrity and the high culture of the one, with its early zeal and later coolness, matched against the errors and slow-bought experience of the other, with its unconquerable, stolid perseverance, raising from defeat itself perpetual resources, which in the end must command victory. The second Carthaginian war, in its real history, — not that of the manœuvring of Cannæ or Zama, but in that of the impulses behind, — is admirably narrated.

“The Period of Decay” extends from A. C. 137 to A. C. 60. We may assist those who think they cannot remember dates, by Niebuhr’s exposition of the old augury, when Romulus grasped the right to rule over Rome. Remus saw six vultures. In the contest between the brothers, Romulus afterwards saw twelve, and, from the superiority of number, claimed what, in true augury, belonged to Remus, as the first observer, — the right to rule. Now each vulture was one *seculum*, or age. And an *age* was the longest known life of man, or 110 years. Niebuhr notes, with satisfaction, that the twelve *ages* of Romulus expire in the sixth century of our era, “when Rome, having been disarmed for ever, was become the capital of a spiritual empire, which we have seen interrupted in our day.” He goes on to say, that “the augur would perhaps have interpreted the six *ages*, corresponding to the legitimate augury of Remus, as signifying the duration of the legal or free constitution.” This will bring the reader just to the middle of Mr. Eliot’s “Period of Decay.”

It is Roman liberty which decays. Roman power, Roman wealth, Roman art and literature, grow as Roman liberty wanes. These are brilliant pictures which crowd into seventy-seven years. In its quick flash and play, action and reaction, the history is much more like that of our own times than those earlier courses appear, when men played for stakes which seem to us smaller, because we know so

little of the game. As it should be, in our time, the generous and unfortunate Gracchi are at last redeemed, on these pages, from their sad position of selfish conspirators. It suited Cicero's purpose once to place them there, and every schoolboy since, who reads his Catiline-speeches, has been satisfied that they belonged there. Close after them comes Marius, then the Italian War, then Sulla, Pompey, Cicero and his decline, and the decline at the same time of liberty in Rome.

Before this time, the old division between Patrician and Plebeian was gone, or nearly so. At the beginning of this period we have "the popular party," well called so on the pages we follow, and more nearly resembling one of our modern parties than any thing else in early history. Civil struggles, and changes of property, have made the Plebeian the equal and rival of the Patrician; and in these later contests, the old line is not the line of separation. When Catiline seduces those who were in debt by his promises of relief, his words fall as agreeably on noble ears as upon the classes who were ready to fight for like relief centuries before.

The Book of "Decay" ends with an examination of Roman religion and philosophy. We wish this had been much longer, and gone much more into detail. Or is it true, that, of this great people, in their best day, we are never to know what was their practical, every-day faith? Or is it lost for ever, as it seems to be when one gropes for it? Some faith, some notion of sacred things, there must have been. There was a something which kept them from suicide when in despair; there was a something which gave its sanction to the patriotism which was so willing to throw life away. That this something was gone, that this faith — too high a name for it, probably — was undermined before the Period of Decay, is doubtless true. But what was it before? Was it nothing but the stiff ritual which the older books describe as the early Roman religion?

Seventy-four years more comprise the "Overthrow" of Roman liberty. Here are the names of Julius Cæsar, of the conspirators and Triumvirs, and of Augustus, — and Mr. Eliot finishes his book with a short chapter on "The Close of Antiquity." Roman liberty has ended with it, and the reader of Rome's history may pass at once to Tacitus as he begins his story of Tiberius.

Now, in the true view of history, this account of seven hundred and more years is nothing, unless in it we can find some law or laws teaching us God's will. What are the lessons of this rise, growth, decay, and overthrow of the free state of Rome?

The political lesson is on the surface. By this time the world ought to have learned it, though the governments of the Old World seem trying always to escape it. It is this, — that a nation gains power, within and without, in proportion as her citizens offer their resources as free gifts, rather than as extorted contributions. That is to say, a nation's strength, in the long course, will be measured by the number of freemen which make up that nation. Rome gains in strength so long as her conquered subjects are permitted to make a part of Rome, — of the Roman state. So soon as such permission ceases, and the freemen of Rome govern Rome's provinces and their people, so soon they begin to feel the weakness of any despotism, whether of one head or of many. Wave after wave of rebellion breaks against the government, till in the end the tide rises so high that the last wave topples over the whole, and Rome falls.

The moral lesson of this History is, first, this, — that liberty, the free use of powers, is nearly worthless, unless there are with it true powers, in just proportion with each other, to be used.

"The idea of liberty is inseparable from the idea of power. Liberty, in fact, is the means of exercising power; while the possession of power is worth nothing without its employment in liberty. The ability is nearly synonymous with the freedom to do any thing which is the natural work of human hands or human minds. An individual may, indeed, be free, but to no good purpose, without capacity and cultivation; nor will a nation, though free, make any use of its liberty, unless it have strength and civilization." — Vol. i. pp. 7, 8.

And this strength needs to be moral power, as Mr. Eliot goes on to show.

Thus the liberty of Rome was utterly profitless to Rome, excepting her brute conquests, because, when its institutions were at their prime, her religion was at its lowest point, and there was no power of worth or generosity to be used in this freedom which she enjoyed. This is what the history, wholly within its own time, teaches. But when studied in its connection with the world's history before

and since, it has for us another moral lesson, which is wider still. For, in one word, to read these volumes before us with the author's spirit is to find, in that whole amazing course of Rome and her freedom, the perpetual prophecy of the coming of Christ. A prophecy, because a preparation for his day and his mission. The institutions of India, of Egypt, of Persia, of Phœnicia, of Greece, and of Judea had each left their stamp upon the world. God had taught a lesson in each separate impress made by those nations. India had shown a hierocracy; Egypt had joined to this a military caste; Persia had made "a trial of wider principles of government and of broader bands of union than the one or the other." Phœnicia and her greater daughter, Carthage, reared up merchant princes; and Greece showed her institutions, her culture, and her fate, as another lesson. All this while, side by side with the earliest and the latest of these, the Jews stood almost unchanged in character or principle, whether they triumphed in their happier days, or, in their darker, "stooped upon their knees to gather the still unfaded promises among the scattered ruins of Jerusalem." So wide are the sources from which, in those ancient days, the civilization, the institutions, of these, the world's more favored regions, have been born. And the exclusive jealousy with which each nation, if it can, clings to its own, is as intense in one of these earlier people as in another. The Persian is a barbarian to the Greek, the Greek is a child in the eyes of the Egyptian, the Egyptian is an abomination to the Jew, the Jew is the perpetual frontier enemy of the Phœnician, the Phœnician a mere huckster, a petty tradesman, to the Brahmin, and the Brahmin, with his Indian train, the rival in arms, through centuries, of the Persian. Each is seeking within itself its whole force. Each is repelling any light from foreign shrines. The spirit which charges Socrates with defaming the gods of Greece is the spirit which expels the Buddhists from India, when they suggest that the national faith is not perfection. It is the spirit which, in a convenient phrase, we speak of as the spirit of the Pharisee.

Such is the world of the fourth or fifth century before Christ; or rather, such is the more advanced portion of our world,—for of real savages there is nothing to be known; and that half the world whose name is China seems not yet to belong to our world,—it is, at the least, beyond our

knowledge. Now it is over these stubborn mountain-peaks of national pride, range frowning upon range, and summit echoing thunders back to summit,—it is over the gorges which seem fathomless between them,—that there is to roll the car of Christian redemption. The word of life is not to come to one people, except as it makes all people one. It is to be dispersed everywhere. It is to show itself God's work as it is thus dispersed. It is to be, therefore, not the ripened fruit merely of any one civilization. Rather is it to come in above all their products, even the best of them; using their analogies, indeed, and shedding light on their speculations, by giving to each of those speculations its law of after growth, and helping it to its end. The Christian faith is to be the one faith of all these people, and of all those savage tribes around them.

And for this, as in the moral world of Judea, so in the intellectual world of all intellectual nations, there must be a forerunner of the Gospel dispensation. The way of the Lord must be prepared among these nations. Of them every valley must be exalted, and every mountain and hill made low. The messenger to which God gave this charge was *Rome*. We can see, now all is over, what she never knew. Rome was to destroy the pride of every successful heathendom. Rome was to reduce every towering mountain of them all. Rome was to make the whole world an easy field for truth to travel over; Rome was to bind together these nations, which had been at sword's points; and while she yet worked kindly at this work, appointed by God, Rome's own power was to be dying out within her, so that her pride also should be gone, except as it flickered in the heart of some one pitiful emperor;—her humiliation also should be complete, at the moment when the universal Gospel, the Gospel of humility and peace, was ready to begin its course northward, southward, eastward, and westward, over all the world.

Rome was to humiliate the powers of the world, and then to fall in the midst of the humiliation she had wrought. And when one reads of Mummius exulting in the fall of Corinth, he sees him as one who is leading Paul on to his victories. When Carthage falls, one cannot but think of Augustine and the other lights which would never have shone upon that shore if Carthage had not fallen. And when Antony flings away the power which Egypt had gained in centuries of dead

study, — when the kings of the East fall one by one before proconsuls and their armies, — when Pompey enters the Holy of Holies, — he who reads of these things as instances only among a host of others like them cannot but feel that he is coming to the result at last, where all those older threads are spun together, and lose themselves, and from which all the threads of our modern life are drawn out in their myriad variety.

But in dwelling upon this baptism of humiliation which Rome was enabled to administer, we are keeping the reader from Mr. Eliot's own language. In the introductory chapters, he prepares us for this general view. At the close of his chapter on the Jews, he says : —

“ If this interpretation of Providence be correct, as it is humble, it follows that the recall of the Jews, as a religious, was unattended by any corresponding regeneration of them as a free nation. They appear, indeed, in an aspect of less security on their own part, that they were the favored race of all others upon the earth ; their intercourse with other nations seems to extend ; and, except with the phylacteried priest or the long-robed Pharisee, the pride of earlier times was buried beneath the wrecks of their independence. The redemption of humanity could be prepared only through humbleness for what had passed on earth, and hope for what was to come from Heaven.”—Vol. i. pp. 257, 258.

And, when fairly embarked in Roman history, he is constantly led to the same view. Here are a few of his suggestions : —

“ In reviewing a period like that embraced within the chapter here, at last, concluded, the Christian is naturally tempted to exaggerate the miseries, the discords, and the passions he has found, beyond all the evil which they actually wrought in the time of their existence. It is his consolation, on the other hand, to believe that the concentration of power and of corruption which he has seen to be prepared and partially achieved in a single city upon the earth, was ordered in mercy to mankind, however much they appear to be worn and torn. The same faith foresees the retribution appointed to those who seem at first only to profit by the spoils of victory and the overthrow of foes. Already hated by their subjects, corrupted by their multiplying slaves, and injured by one another, the Romans whom we have followed in the increase of their liberty must now be watched in its vain defence, and in its sure decay. ‘ A sound of battle is in the land and of great destruction ’ ; but is scarcely heard, before

‘the hammer of the whole earth is cut asunder and broken.’ And the prophecy against Babylon returns, fearful and solemn, against Rome.”— Vol. II. pp. 209, 210.

“So far as humility amongst men was necessary for the preparation of a truer freedom than could ever be known under heathenism, the part of Rome, however dreadful, was yet sublime. It was not to unite, to discipline, or to fortify humanity, but to enervate, to loosen, and to scatter its forces, that the people whose history we have read were allowed to conquer the earth and were then themselves reduced to deep submission. Every good labor of theirs that failed was, by reason of what we esteem its failure, a step gained nearer to the end of the wellnigh universal evil that prevailed; while every bad achievement that may seem to us to have succeeded, temporarily or lastingly, with them was equally, by reason of its success, a progress towards the good of which the coming would have been longed and prayed for, could it have been comprehended. Alike in the virtues and in the vices of antiquity, we may read the progress towards its humiliation. Yet, on the other hand, it must not seem, at the last, that the disposition of the Romans, or of mankind, to submission, was secured solely through the errors and the apparently ineffectual toils which we have traced back to these times of old. Desires too true to have been wasted, and strivings too humane to have been unproductive, though all were overshadowed by passing wrongs, still gleam as if in anticipation or in preparation of the advancing day.

“At length, when it had been proved by ages of conflict and loss that no lasting joy and no abiding truth could be procured through the power, the freedom, or the faith of mankind, the angels sung their song, in which the glory of God and the goodwill of men were together blended. The universe was wrapped in momentary tranquillity, and ‘peaceful was the night’\* above the manger at Bethlehem. We may believe, that, when the morning came, the ignorance, the confusion, and the servitude of humanity had left their darkest forms amongst the midnight clouds. It was still, indeed, beyond the power of man to lay hold securely of the charity and the regeneration that were henceforth to be his law; and the indefinable terrors of the future, whether seen from the West or from the East, were not at once to be dispelled. But before the death of the Emperor Augustus, in the midst of his fallen subjects, the Business of THE FATHER had already been begun in the Temple at Jerusalem; and, near by, THE SON was increasing in wisdom and in stature and in favor with God and man.

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\* “The whole Hymn on the Morning of Christ’s Nativity is the best conclusion I can suggest to this history. Prudentius has some fine lines on the same theme. *Contra Symm.* II. 597 et seq.”

“The sea, as it were, upon which wave has pursued wave through day and night, through years and centuries, before our eyes, is thus illumined with the approaching light which we have been waiting to behold. And as we stand upon the shore, conscious of the Spirit that has moved upon the face of the waters, we may lift our eyes with more confiding faith to the over-watching Heaven.”

With this passage, which closes the book, we must close this notice of it, leaving unsaid many things which its study suggests to us. We trust that we have made some of its merits appear, as we have followed it along. Chief among those of manner is the ease with which it is written, so that it allures the reader, although he sees, all the while, that its material was gleaned from very rough fields. Mr. Eliot speaks of it as the first in a grand series. We wish him indeed full strength and time to carry that series on.

In his Preface he expresses a consciousness that his “disquisitions” will, like other “disquisitions,” be sneered at. With us there has been a wish, rather, that they covered more ground, that he had not so resolutely pruned them down. The chapters on Roman philosophy, literature, and religion seem comparatively meagre, after the full views of all these matters with which the specially historical chapters abound. It seems as if they were written at another heat. For the narrative itself is crowded with bold and generous, as well as ingenious, comment.

As we came to the end of the book we had one more complaint to make of it, — that it is too short. That last century is so crowded with grandeur, — could we not have had a longer narrative, and more detail? Mr. Eliot is grave, and says no! For this is only the decay of liberty, and has very little to do with its history. For his purpose, he has been right, perhaps, in dwelling longest on the hardy, nervous days of the true Commonwealth and her men, whom he makes live for us indeed. But we cannot but wish, that, in some field or other, we could have him paint on a larger canvas his pictures of Cicero, whom he loves so, of Pompey, and of Cæsar. With his vivid power of narrative, what a picture we might have of that Napoleon-like Herod, — or of the new social classes who obtruded themselves upon Rome in those days, with their almost modern frivolity, foreign airs, and changing fashions.

But this is, perhaps, simply asking that the book were



longer. And we are too highly gratified with it as it is to press that rather ungracious request. We have only to speak of one criticism upon it, which we have been told that some one has said that somebody proposed to make upon it; namely, that it is charged with being the work of too young a man. We will speak with due modesty. With due reverence for white hairs, we will say that there are some things, which, in the nature of the case, young men must do better than their seniors. Not to say that they bear "*labores*" as well as they bear "*honores*" ill, let us plead, that to certain sympathies they are more alive, of certain passions better interpreters, than they will be when they have learned much more, but forgotten something too. And then let us apply this truth in this case. Can it be expected that an ancient German, his hair whitened with the dust of a thousand alcoves, shall understand, or can join in, the enthusiastic hopes of Tiberius Gracchus, or the almost frantic efforts of his brother Caius, who so mourned for him? Why, these are young men's efforts, hopes, wailings, and enthusiasms. These men died when they were no older than Mozart and Raphael were when they died. Or, — to take another instance, — who is it who leads an army in secession to Mons Sacer, or to the Aventine? Not its gray-haired men, — not those who have seen fifty mutinies fail, — but the young men who have passed the conventionalism of boyhood, and have not yet reached the readiness to wait which is the crown and glory of life-taught age. Or, — to speak of Roman history in general, — here is the history of a nation, which for centuries had the secret of perpetual youth; which conquered while it kept that secret, and declined when it lost it. Who shall write that history?

With all modesty, we must own, that if the author will give many years of life and prayer to it, — if he will follow it out in his travels abroad, — if he will plan his life at home to compass it, — if he will bravely comprehend the difficulties before him, and then by patient study solve them, one by one, — if he will do this as faithfully as Mr. Eliot has done it, with full faith, that is, in God and man alike, — we shall not regret that it is undertaken and published while he is still a young man.

E. E. H.

## ART. VIII. — THE REV. JOHN PIERCE, D. D.\*

MR. KNAPP'S Discourse is an affectionate and unexaggerated tribute to the memory of his aged colleague, — a tribute worthy of its subject and of its author. The Biographical Sketch, taken from the *Christian Inquirer*, is a brief, but very discriminating and faithful, memoir from the pen of one intimately connected with Dr. Pierce, knowing and appreciating him thoroughly.

We might enrich our pages by extracts from this little volume, and perhaps in so doing we should sufficiently discharge our duty of commemoration. But we think it proper that this journal should put on record an independent estimate of the mind and character of a man who has been so prominent and so well beloved. We will only take a few dates and facts from the Sketch before us.

"The Rev. JOHN PIERCE, D. D., senior pastor of the First Church in Brookline, Mass., was removed from this world, on Friday, 24th inst., at half past eleven o'clock, A. M., having attained here the age of seventy-six years, one month, and ten days. . . . Dr. Pierce was born in Dorchester, Mass., about four miles from Boston, July 14th, 1773. He was the oldest of ten children, six of whom still survive. His father, a shoemaker, and an honest, intelligent, religious man, died December 11th, 1833, aged ninety-one years, two months, and eight days. From earliest childhood he cherished the desire to go to college and to become a minister, — this desire being awakened, as he used to say, by hearing his parents, uncles, and aunts talk so incessantly of their brother, James Blake, a promising young clergyman, who died just after he began to preach. On leaving the school of the same maiden woman who taught his mother to read, he commenced the study of Latin, and in 1789 entered Harvard College. He took a high rank in his class, and at graduating (1793) delivered the second English oration, — the first being assigned to Judge (Charles) Jackson, the eminent jurist, still living. His whole college expenses amounted to \$296.06, — of which he had credit, as a beneficiary, for \$102.56. On taking his second degree he pronounced the Latin valedictory oration. After quitting Cam-

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\* *A Discourse, delivered at the Funeral of Rev. John Pierce, D. D., Senior Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Brookline, Mass., August 27th, 1849.* By FREDERIC N. KNAPP, Colleague. Together with a Biographical Sketch, reprinted from the *Christian Inquirer* (New York). Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. 16mo. pp. 64.

bridge, he was for two years assistant preceptor of the Academy in Leicester, Mass. He commenced (July, 1795) the study of theology, with Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, then recently settled in his native town; was 'approved' by the 'Boston Association,' Feb. 22d, 1796, and preached for the first time at Dorchester, March 6th, 1796. Having preached in several places, and filled for nearly four months a tutorship in Harvard College, he received and accepted a unanimous invitation to become the pastor of the First Church in Brookline, Mass., as the successor of Rev. Joseph Jackson, and was ordained March 15th, 1797. October 31st, 1798, he was married to Abigail Lovel, of Medway, one of his pupils at the Academy. She died July 2d, 1800, leaving an infant son, who survived his mother only two years. Dr. Pierce was married again, May 6th, 1802, to Lucy Tappan, of Northampton, who is now left his widow, after an union of the utmost harmony and affection extending through forty-seven years . . . . Dr. Pierce was the sole pastor of his church for half a century; and the interesting 'Jubilee,' when he completed the fiftieth year from the day of his ordination,—celebrated March 15th, 1847,—will be remembered by the many whose privilege it was to be present and listen to the hale, hearty, and cheerful clergyman, showing in his seventy-fourth year the vigor of youth. . . . For thirty-three years he was Secretary to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College. For several years he was President of the Massachusetts Bible Society; and also a faithful officer or active member of numerous other associations of a literary or philanthropic character." — pp. 32–35.

Any person attending the funeral of Dr. Pierce must have seen that he was a man of mark whom they were burying. There was a great concourse of people thronging with reverent and tender emotions around his coffin, and among them many men of eminent character and station. It was evident from many signs that those were not the obsequies of an ordinary man, or a mere official man. And those signs were not fallacious. He was a distinguished man. When his death was announced, it was everywhere taken much note of by the press, and, in conversation, spoken of with a feeling of interest, we found, by all sorts of persons in the neighbourhood, and far in the country. We suppose that there was hardly a man in Massachusetts whose person was known to so many individuals in the State. It is seldom that so many and hearty expressions of affectionate respect, from so many quarters, follow an old man to his grave.

And how came he to be thus distinguished? — This is a

question which, of course, has been often asked, and we repeat it now thoughtfully, and shall try to answer it. It may seem a question of some difficulty. For he had but a moderate share of those materials from which reputations are usually constructed. At college he was a diligent and successful scholar, and always retained his strong sympathy with scholarly pursuits and achievements; yet his learning, theological, classical, or scientific, was not extensive nor profound. The original resources of his mind were not great. He had not a spark of what is called genius. He had no eloquence in speech nor in writing. As a preacher he was not specially sought. He was nowise remarkable for the reach or strength of his understanding. He had little logic and less rhetoric. The only knowledge for which he was particularly noted was that of dates, and facts of contemporary personal history. He had good sense, and such soundness and sagacity of judgment as usually accompany integrity of mind and honest simplicity of purpose, but he was not deemed a sage or wise man, in such a sense, that his counsel was greatly sought in weighty and perplexed affairs. He always acquitted himself respectably on those public occasions on which he was called to officiate, but his published discourses do not constitute a permanently valuable addition to our literature. To those measures for ameliorating the condition of society in which he took part, he only contributed the testimony of his convictions and the weight of his character, — a large contribution surely, but still the question recurs, Whence came that weight of character? And, withal, his social position was only that of an humble country clergyman.

So our friend seems not to have been greatly favored with those qualities and circumstances which are the usual elements of public distinction. And yet we know that he was distinguished, with a widely extended and very desirable reputation. What is the secret of it? We shall find an answer where a Christian must most delight to find it, in the qualities of his heart and in the rectitude and purity of his life.

Whenever a man spends a life as long as that of our late friend in one spot or neighbourhood, and spends it in the diligent pursuance of his vocation, and has been found always just and upright, consistent, sincere, and truthful, exemplary in domestic relations and a kind neighbour, affable and sympathizing, — never formal, cold, nor mean, nor selfish, nor crowding, nor grasping, — without a sharp tongue or a ran-

corous spirit, — steady, friendly, benevolent, blameless, and devout, — bearing his trials well, and his temptations well, with none to taunt him with moral lapses, or charge him with social wrong, — keeping, we say, in one place, so as to be well known to two successive generations, — that man, when he dies, will be found to be distinguished. It may be within a narrow circuit, if his position be obscure, yet distinguished. And if he have a position only so conspicuous as that of a country clergyman, though without the least brilliancy of mental endowments or pulpit success, he will be found widely, greatly distinguished, and most honorably so.

Such a character and career imply a combination of gifts, efforts, and circumstances that is rare, more rare than the talents or social advantages which are the usual means of notoriety. Such a combination there was, to an eminent degree, in favor of the late minister of Brookline.

Born in Dorchester, he just moved over to that pleasant parsonage, — only going round by Cambridge for purposes of education, — and there he has dwelt for more than fifty years, and there he has died. During that period, we doubt if he has ever been accused of neglecting a duty or forgetting an appointment, or committing a mean, unjust, or immoral action, or speaking a false, or irreverent, or unkind, or insincere word.

But it would be unfair to describe him only by negatives. His was a positive character, and had great positive traits of excellence. He appears to have obeyed and carried out the two parts of the great commandment, to love God and love man, with unusual earnestness and thoroughness.

As to the first part, his personal religion was very positive. He was not a learned and acute theologian, but he was unfeignedly pious, and a firm and ardent believer. He did love and fear God with true practical devotion, and he was a disciple of Christ, in that he believed, and loved, and trusted his Master with all his heart.

His theological opinions, as to disputed points, were not, we suppose, very clearly defined in his own mind. As far as possible, he avoided taking sides in the great controversy between the Liberal and Orthodox parties, disclaimed all party relations and names to the last. And herein some may have thought that he showed an unworthy timidity or an unworthy courting of favor from both parties. But it could not have been from want of moral courage or from a time-

serving spirit. For see how early, strongly, and without reservation he committed himself on the Temperance question, everywhere declaring in his loudest tones — and they were loud indeed — his thorough-going, uncompromising ultraism on that subject, in opinion and practice ; and that course, in some stages and aspects of the movement, must have appeared quite as likely to make him enemies as any theological decision. And besides, he had a parish that would have sustained him, probably to a man, in taking ever so decidedly the side which he must have taken, if he were to take any, and which he did take virtually. His somewhat peculiar feelings and position in relation to sects and parties are not to be referred to any moral defect.

The truth is, his personal sympathies were so broad and strong, and warm, that he could not well bear to be separated from any body by party lines, — he so loved and yearned for good-fellowship among ministers. The lines were not drawn till some years after his ministry began ; and when he and so many of his brethren came to be excluded, abruptly cut off from the old Congregational communion, we can suppose that for a time, until he became used to it, it must have been the great grief of his heart to be suddenly turned out of doors by his old friends, ignored by them as a brother-minister of Christ, excluded from their pulpits and their fellowship. How it must have astonished and wounded him, — feeling that he was as orthodox, as sound in the faith, as ever he was, or as they were ! And what a commentary it is on that stern policy of exclusion, that it shut out him as no Christian or Christian minister, — him, who was a minister through and through, and with all his heart, from his very infancy, — him, so pure a man, so evangelical in all his beliefs and words, such a real, hearty, fixed, old-fashioned, Bible Christian !

But he was only grieved, not alienated or embittered. He did not defy his former associates, or go into the opposite ranks to contend against them. He loved them just the same, — would not be driven from his familiar associations with them, — and, to the last, took as much interest in them and their institutions, their public occasions, and all their religious affairs, as he did in the affairs of those friends who were excluded with him, and who were ever ready to hail him as father, and reciprocate his confidence. And yet he was always true to his Liberal friends. When he found they

were to be driven asunder from their old associations, he did not hesitate to go with them. And we know that to the end of his life he rejoiced that such had been his decision. It would have been violence to his whole nature to have joined what he always considered the illiberal side.

His theological views, probably, never underwent any material change from his early youth to the day of his death,—none, that is, which he was distinctly conscious of. If he was carried along at all by the progress of opinion around him, he was hardly aware of any change of position in himself. His mind was not of a character to discriminate sharply between shades of doctrinal differences, and being himself where he always was, he could see no more reason for a sectarian division of the Congregational body in 1815 than in 1790. He was strictly conservative in theology. He entertained none of the speculations of the time, accepted no novelties, would give no hearing to those who promised to show a better way of truth than that which he had long walked in. He had early anchored his mind fast upon the Bible, and found his Saviour, and learned, as he thought, to read his law, and rest upon his promises, and through him to “worship the Father in spirit and in truth,” and he did not think that any body could teach him any thing more or better than this. He thought that the important truths of Christianity were as plain to the spiritual understanding as they were ever likely to be made by human learning, and he did not want any young man to give him his spiritual intuitions as substitutes for the old texts about righteousness and love, grace and peace, joy in the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection of the just to eternal life. He thought he had long known well enough in whom he believed, and the way of salvation. So his faith grew up with him, and grew old with him. It seems never to have suffered any distractions or perplexities. He was very firm and very happy in it, and while it gave him a high standard of virtue, humility, and pious trust, he never troubled himself to suit it to the fashion or the philosophy of the day, and never saw any occasion to relay its foundations, or change its substance, or distrust old proofs of it, or search for new ones.

There is certainly something very respectable, to say the least, in that sort of mind that can go on through a long life in one religious track, turning neither to the right nor the left, let the wind of doctrine blow about him which way it would,

— not indifferent, not cold, not a mere conformist, — warm, living, but steady, always the same, early finding the rock, and, assured it is the rock of ages, planting itself upon it, and never swerving, though all the world say, Lo here ! and Lo there ! There is some grandeur in such a position and career. We do not say that it is practicable or desirable for all persons. We do not say that it indicates the highest type of mind. It is not from minds of that stamp, perhaps, that the highest spiritual benefactions have proceeded. The world wants some bold, inquiring, progressive minds, and God wants them, for he has provided that there shall be such. Not all minds *can* abide in one stay. They must be sounding new depths ; they must be looking always to the east and the west for more light ; going forward, inquiring, proving, recasting their religious ideas. It is a necessity of their nature or their circumstances, and it is well. We will not say that they ought to do or be otherwise. But we do say, that whoever finds himself able and disposed to go through life in one settled faith, and that living and life-giving, — needing no change, and seeking none, enjoying it, resting in it, living by it, and ever striving to live it out more and more in charity and in peace, — he is happy, — he need not fear the taunts of the restless and progressive, who cannot be fixed themselves, nor bear to see any fixtures about them. He need not feel obliged to quit the tranquil lake because some call it stagnant, nor to launch upon the turbulent stream because some say there only is life. He will be countenanced by the examples of multitudes of as venerable and beautiful lives as ever were lived on earth, or closed in the hope of heaven.

In the other half of the Christian law, love to man, Dr. Pierce was not lacking. The most striking part of his character lay here. He had the kindest of natures. His heart seemed a fountain of loving-kindness, always gushing up and running over. Time, and experience of the world's coldness, never checked its stream or dried up a drop of it. What a cordial greeting was his ! What a beaming friendliness on his face ! We never knew the person who took so hearty an interest in so many people, and showed it by such unequivocal signs. He seemed to know almost every body, and all about him. And it was not an idle, prurient curiosity ; if it had been, it would have run into scandal, as it usually does in those who make it a business to know and report every body's affairs. He had no scandal. His love saved him from that. He



said pleasant things and kind things. There was no venom under his tongue, no acid in his breast. He probably never made an enemy, nor lost a friend. His affections were warm, his sympathies were quick. He was generous according to his means. He loved young men. For more than fifty years, without interruption, we have been told, he travelled to Cambridge several times a year to attend the public exercises, and listened to every student with fond eagerness, as to a son of his own, and for ever after remembered him, and in most cases knew all about him.

Age did not blunt these kind feelings, or quench one ray of their youthful glow. Here he was remarkable. Age did not tend in the least to make him shrink into himself, or to narrow the circle of his sympathies. After seventy he would start off with the ardor of a schoolboy, and walk miles, just to see an old friend, and would live for months after on the pleasure of the interview. And he not only loved other people, but he loved to be loved. He seemed to value nothing in this world so much as kind attention, affection, good-fellowship.

He was welcomed in all the pulpits to which he had access, not so much on account of his preaching as on his own account. People liked to see him and hear his voice, especially in singing, because his soul was in it. They liked to see him, he seemed such a personal friend. His bare presence was as acceptable to many, and perhaps as profitable, as the sermons of some much greater men, — he was so sincere, so hearty, so kind. A word from him, with his great, cordial, friendly voice, at the church-door or in the aisle, would, for multitudes, make ample amends for any dryness in the regular discourse.

It is very singular that such warm affections towards both God and man did not impart their unction to his intellect, and give a character of rich and glowing sentiment to his composition ; but we believe they did not. They did lend animation and force to his delivery, but never gave their fire to his composition. He was not eloquent, or poetical, or affecting, in his writing. Somehow there was a connecting link missing between his heart and his intellect. With feelings fresh, and warm, and pure enough to have made him a poet, an orator, and a splendid writer, he was not a bit of either. It was a singular instance of disconnection between the two parts of the mind. His great, fervent heart is not in his writ-

ings. But no matter, — he had it, and every body knew he had it, and felt the influence of it, was warmed by its radiance, and gladdened by its benignity.

There is, then, no mystery about his extended reputation. This is the way it came, — by natural laws, interest for interest ; all knew him, because he knew all ; all loved him, for he loved all ; all are touched by his death, for all have lost a friend.

Our view of Dr. Pierce would be incomplete without some reference to his last days. Providence greatly favored him in his last sickness. His faculties were not impaired, and he was without pain. He was able, till the last, to sit up in his study and receive his friends. And how they poured in upon him ! and how glad he was to see them ! — overwhelmed, he said, with joy at their kindness. It was so congenial to him, that it seemed not to weary him. And he was so cheerful, so happy, — nothing but happiness, he said, in his past life or present decay ; happy, when he laid his hands on the children that came to him ; happy in taking from kind hands the tokens of thoughtful regard that were brought to him ; happy in greeting the troops of brethren and parishioners ; happy in the grasp, that he knew would be the last, of a life-long friend, and happy in the tears of affection he shed on the neck of a foreigner whom he never saw before, but loved tenderly, as the apostle of temperance and the benefactor of his race ; happy, too, in pointing to the green spot before his house, where he said he should soon be laid ; and happiest of all in the prospect of the life that was about to dawn on him. His faith was firm, his trust unflinching. He not only submitted to God's will, — he loved it and made it his own. He loved God and man, earth and heaven, more than ever. And one could hardly tell with which hand his heart went out with most energy and warmth, that which grasped the dear ties of domestic and friendly love on earth, or that which pointed in joyous and triumphant assurance to the opening mansions of the blest.

“ That is greatness,” said one of our greatest men, referring to one of those interviews with him in his sickness, — “ that is greatness. We did not use to call him great, but he *is* great *now* ; and what we commonly call great is very little compared with that.”

G. P.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Sermons by Rev. Jason Whitman, with a Sketch of his Life and Character, and Extracts from his Correspondence.* Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 1849. 16mo. pp. 415.

FOR the acceptable service which the Rev. A. P. Peabody has rendered to the Christian community in the preparation of this volume, the thanks of Mr. Whitman's friends are especially due. To no one could the labor have been more appropriately intrusted than to him, who offers the most significant and fragrant tribute to the memory of the departed, when he says, "We feel that the residue of our pilgrimage will be richer and happier, because we have trodden so much of the way at his side, — that the sweet counsel we have taken together will help guide us to the rest into which he has entered, and fit us for the joy to which he has gone." All who read this Memoir, and who knew its subject, will join us in attesting to its justice, its fidelity, and its graceful delineation of Mr. Whitman's character; and join with us, too, in wishing to reverse the sentiment he expresses, — "More inadequate than brief has been this tribute to our friend's blessed memory," — and say, "Too brief, indeed, but most adequate." We think that we can appreciate the motives that induced him to use such brevity, when we peruse the valuable correspondence of Mr. Whitman with his parishioners. These letters are so truly pastoral, so replete with good judgment, with fervent piety, — evince so clear a discernment of the nature and necessities of the spiritual life, — are so laden with wholesome home truths, — and portray withal so deep a sympathy and such Christian fellowship, — that Mr. Peabody judged rightly that they would serve in an important degree to delineate his character. We know that they are suited to leave a just impression of what Mr. Whitman was in daily conversation, and in his communion with his people. Through an affectionate sympathy, he was approachable by all. The young inquirer sought communion with him in entire confidence that religious aspirations would be fervently welcomed, the difficulties of spiritual progress be understood and explained, and efficient guidance be rendered to the conquests of the Christian life. Many such, therefore, resorted to him; and when they could not be privileged with personal communion, being at a distance, would seek the suggestions of his ever-ready pen and more ready heart. These letters, too, may offer suggestions to his brethren in the ministry, not so much as to the manner in which they ought to write and speak, — direct, plain, frank, *from*

the heart, *to the heart*, — but chiefly as to the mode most effectual for promoting religious progress, and most sought by their people, of making the great realities of Christian truth instrumental in the salvation of the world. It may be said of him, that, with the high intellectual tone of all he said and wrote, he was mostly the advocate of *experimental* religion. Nor can we omit the remark, that in the fulfilment of the pastoral office it is, after all, that the efficacy of the ministry in our day is to be found. It is in danger of being merged in the increased intellectual manifestations of these times, but is as important as ever. We cannot but feel, that, much as the minister of Christ may delight his people by lucid and powerful expositions of divine truth, he *saves* them in proportion as he enters truly and completely into the office and relation of pastor. As a reformatory preacher, he may — he must, if he would be accepted of Christ — do much for the wide and comprehensive interests of suffering humanity. But he is set for the salvation of his own people especially, and of them must his first account be rendered. Will not the ministry become permanent, as this idea is more and more realized?

Of the character of Mr. Whitman, all will recognize some of the distinctive elements in the portraiture of the Memoir. Mr. Peabody says, — “In analyzing his character, the trait on which we love most to dwell is his simple, unaffected piety, breathing, as it did, in the details of daily life, bathing in its spirit common words and indifferent actions, and making us feel — with less of the ostentation of religious sentiment than we almost ever knew in a person professedly religious — that, ‘whether he ate or drank, or whatever he did, he did all to the glory of God.’” This is strictly, absolutely true. A brief acquaintance would satisfy any one of the fact. Yet, whilst all must love to dwell upon such a manifestation of Christian character, it has appeared to us as we have thought of the departed, as it did continually during his life, that the earnestness, the enthusiasm, with which he grasped every subject that commended itself to his mind, and entered upon every duty that he recognized as such, was the peculiar atmosphere he breathed, the life of his soul. Others have possessed a piety, it may be, like his, and it is always lovely to dwell upon it; but is it not more frequently seen in temperaments naturally much less active, buoyant, and enthusiastic? And here, if we mistake not, may we perceive the great excellence of that piety to which the Memoir refers. Mr. Whitman was alive to all wise plans of benevolence, deeply interested in reformatory movements, and awake to all the grand questions, the animating prospects and hopes, of the present age. His nature was quickly roused, and a mere spark of generous thought or hope kindled his whole being to intense thought, powerful utterance, and

benevolent action ; and at the same time there was this precious vein "of simple, unaffected piety" pervading all. To retain and preserve such a spirit with such an enthusiasm was a triumph of Christian faith, and its contemplation may afford rich gratification.

The Discourses in the volume before us we recognize as among his most effective pulpit ministrations. Our space will not allow us to dwell upon them as we could wish. Those have affected our minds as some of the most valuable which appear under the following titles : — " Religion amidst Business " ; " The Mission of Sorrow " ; " Regeneration " ; " Self-delusion " ; " Tests of Christian Character " ; " Party Spirit " ; " The Danger of Vicious Associates " ; " Farewell " ; and " The Pastoral Office. " All the Discourses will speak for themselves far better than we can speak for or of them. To those who were privileged to sit under his preaching, they will need no commendation ; and we confidently intrust them to the Christian reader, well assured that he will be grateful for their genial sympathies with all pure aspirations, for their thorough treatment of whatever subject they touch upon, for their practical good-sense, and for the aid they all may render in the formation of character.

We cannot conclude without congratulating our Unitarian community upon its rapidly increasing sacred literature. So many pure and blessed spirits, the lights of our denomination, as have been cut down within a few years, are greatly missed from their active labors among us. But when such records of what they were, what they said, and what they did, are preserved to us, we have very much to console us in our bereavement.

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*The Stars and the Earth ; or Thoughts upon Space, Time, and Eternity.* From the Third English Edition. Boston : Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. pp. 88.

If any persons are still oppressed with the fear that science is destined to put an end to faith and poetry, that facts, as they shall come to light, will contradict belief, and leave to the imagination no room to play in, they should read this delightful little book, and correct the delusion at once. The creations of God are more wonderful and inspiring when they are understood than when they are misunderstood. It is a part of our want of faith, the fancy to which we are continually giving way, that what we would fain believe to be facts are better and more attractive than the real facts. This faithlessness pursues us into every department of thought and action, baptizes timidity with the name of reverence, and imposes unnatural and harmful restraints upon

free thought and the various works of reform. We cannot give up our dear old world. The new heavens and the new earth will not, we are sure, be one half so beautiful.

But what is the chariot of Phœbus to the real sun? What are all the imaginations in which an uninstructed world has indulged concerning the heavens and their treasures, compared with the scientific truths taught by astronomy, — such truths as are told in this little work?

Struve and Bessel have interpreted for us a portion of that starry mystery which makes night so holy and so beautiful. We have known, since their labors, that the nearest fixed star, the brightest in the constellation of Centaur, is about eighteen billions of miles distant from us, and accordingly, that the light which comes to us from it must be about three years on its way. Further calculations show that four thousand years are requisite to convey light to us from a star of the twelfth magnitude. Taking these facts and the like, our author calls attention to the converse of them, that as we see so are we seen, after longer or shorter intervals of time, as the looker on is more or less removed. "Thus the universe incloses the pictures of the past, like an indestructible and incorruptible record, containing the purest and clearest truth." Hence the wonderful conclusions, that to God, and to man likewise, let vision and motion adequate be granted, "a thousand years are as one day." It will be apparent at a glance, that truth of this sort admits of most striking and numberless applications.

The second part of this little book, though very ingenious, seems to us rather curious than profitable; it is very attractive as a speculation, but the opinion expressed by the writer of the Introductory Letter, concerning the soundness of the arguments, is certainly correct. The author does not succeed in showing that indefinite contraction and annihilation are the same. A change of scale does not take us out of time and space. We most cordially commend the book to every lover of science and religion. Ingenuity, even if it is misplaced, almost secures our commendation when it is engaged in the service of sincerity; and the first part of this work does not need this or any apology.

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*The Canton Chinese, or the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire.* By OSMOND TIFFANY, Jr. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 271.

THE author gives, in his Preface, an evidently honest and fairly told account of himself and of his book, and at once wins our confidence. There are no books of foreign travel and observa-

tion which are more heartily desired now, than those which inform us of China and the Chinese, and if such books come to us with an authority on which we may rely, if they contain matters of actual eyesight and fair report, they will be readily and thankfully received. We believe that this book is one of such a character. The writer roamed the streets of Canton with his eyes open, confirming his previous belief that the Chinese had been underrated. He determined to report nothing but what he knew and saw, not even to quote from other books matters of history. After recording his own observations of several months, he submitted them to a gentleman who had resided in China for years, and then referred to works of established authority. The volume bears out the author's account of its origin. It is fresh, lively, and unsophisticated. More than all, we are pleased that as we read we can believe.

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*A General French and English Dictionary. Newly composed from the French Dictionaries of the French Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, Bescherelle, &c., from the English Dictionaries of Johnson, Webster, Richardson, &c., and the Special Dictionaries and Works of both Languages, &c., &c., &c.* By A. SPIERS. Paris: Baudry. Boston: Little & Brown. 1849. 8vo. pp. 616 and 716.

A DICTIONARY of a foreign language, in order to be extensively useful, should combine, among others, the following requisites. It should contain a copious vocabulary, full and accurate definitions of the words and phrases of each tongue in the corresponding synonymes of the other, and the idiomatic peculiarities of the languages which it purports to teach. It must be adapted to the existing state of literature and science, or, at least, to the standard writings of the age; it should indicate, as far as practicable, the irregularities of each language; and the whole matter should be arranged and exhibited in such a form as to be most easily and readily accessible to the student. The work before us possesses, in a remarkable degree, most of these essential qualities. In comparing it with other dictionaries that have enjoyed no inconsiderable reputation, we find in it a great number of words, used in the writings of the day, or in the intercourse of life, for which we should search in vain elsewhere, except in the most voluminous and expensive lexicons. The definitions, founded upon the standard works of the Academy, Laveaux, Boiste, and Bescherelle, in French, of Johnson, Richardson, and Webster, in English, together with the established usage in common life, are remarkable for their accuracy, showing, on the part of the au-

thor, much research, acute discrimination, and a thorough knowledge of both languages. The terms of art and science, geographical and classical names, and those of weights and measures, with their comparative values, add much to the merit of the work. By the liberal use of signs and abbreviations, a vast amount of information is conveyed within a moderate space and at a low price. One fault, however, should not pass unnoticed. The mechanical execution of the copy before us is not such as that of a manual should be. We do not object to the dark paper, but there is an indistinctness in the type, especially manifest in the accents, which we hope and trust will be remedied in future editions. Yet, as a whole, we would commend the work as decidedly the best of its kind extant.

Messrs. Little & Brown have just received an edition of the work, on fair, white, and very strong paper, and we are glad to learn that yet another edition will soon appear, presenting this valuable Dictionary in the highest style of art.

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*Nature ; Addresses and Lectures.* By R. W. EMERSON. Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1849. 12mo. pp. 383.

DOUBTLESS there is nothing in this volume which the admirers of its distinguished author have not already in possession. But the contents of it have never appeared together before, nor in such an inviting form. The fair type and paper will even help to the better understanding of some of the oracles in these pages. We apprehend that the highest, the most enduring, and the most just encomium which Emerson will receive will not be from the coterie who regard him as an inspired seer, but from the larger, the more discriminating, and the really more intelligent body of his readers, who find on every page of his proofs of a most pure spirit and a loving heart, without one breathing of an unholy or rancorous feeling. Nine Addresses and Lectures, before various literary societies and lyceums, beside the Essay on Nature, compose the contents of this volume, which will be as original a century hence as it is now.

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*Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome. Being Notes of Conversations held with certain Jesuits on the Subject of Religion in the City of Rome.* By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M. A. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1849. 12mo. pp. 237.

THE title of this volume gives a fair account of its contents, and will not excite in the reader any expectation which it will not



fulfil. All that the reader will desire will be to have perfect confidence in the account which the author gives of his interviews, and in the reports of the statements of his entertainers. His truthfulness we have no reason to doubt. The author has previously published, in his "*Pilgrimage to Rome*," such matters as are usually found in the note-books of observing tourists. Through his wife and a Roman gentleman, and by permission of the Father-General of the Jesuits, he was brought into an acquaintance with two members of that Order, who introduced him to others, — conversations with whom are professedly reported in this volume. The author says he was careful to undeceive them of their impression, that he was one of the supposed large number of the clergy of the Church of England who are dissatisfied with their present communion, and favorably inclined towards Rome. At the same time he assured them, that, if they could lessen his objections to their Church and his confidence in his own, he should join them. The conversations were committed to paper as soon as closed. The effect on Mr. Seymour was to remove some of his prejudices, and to enlarge his views of the limit within which human nature ranges. The volume is entertaining and instructive, with considerable variety of information.

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*Scenes where the Tempter has triumphed.* By the Author of "*The Jail Chaplain*." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1849. 16mo. pp. 277.

THE author of this volume believes that loosely written records of successful crime poison the morals of an entire community, and increase the confidence of escape and impunity by which many criminals are deluded. He writes his book to prove that "there is no such thing as successful villany." His narratives, startling and instructive, are the records of actual facts, with real names, attached to a variety of crimes.

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THE Address delivered before the Graduating Class of the Divinity School in Cambridge, July 15, by Rev. F. H. Hedge, (Cambridge, Bartlett, 8vo, pp. 30,) is one of those fresh utterances of earnest thought which is sure in these days to involve debatable matter. No one could fairly criticize this brilliant discourse without exceeding it in length. The author maintains, that the true catholicism consists in viewing all the varieties of professed Christianity as the noblest and most adequate expression of the Christian idea. He recognizes a providence and a purpose in the Trinitarian doctrine, and though he cannot find it in

the New Testament, is willing to admit that it was not an accident, but a providence, which placed it in the Church. This and even more startling assertions are mingled in with indisputable truths which are eloquently expressed by the author. The distinction between theology and religion is perhaps pressed too far, considering the unavoidable vagueness of the meaning of words. If Mr. Hedge would expand his discourse into a volume, it would be sure to find many readers, sharp critics, and vigorous defenders and admirers.

A Discourse preached in the Mount Pleasant Church, Roxbury, by the Pastor, Rev. W. R. Alger, (Boston, Crosby & Nichols, 8vo, pp. 30,) made a good use of the National Fast Day, August 3, by drawing "Inferences from the Pestilence and the Fast." Besides the general token of a Providence, which the preacher finds in the cholera, he interprets it as coming with particular messages to us, as suggesting the thought of existing evils which we are to remove, the physical, social, and personal sins which prevail among us, and as rebuking us for our support of wrong, our selfishness, and our indifference to high truths. Such sermons ought to do good.

We have perused with interest a pamphlet bearing the following title : — "Speeches of Mr. Hopkins, of Northampton, on the Bill to incorporate the College of the Holy Cross in the City of Worcester ; delivered in the House of Representatives, April 24 and 25, 1849. With an Introductory Letter to the Members of the House." (Northampton, Butler & Bridgman, 8vo, pp. 44.) Mr. Hopkins was Chairman of the Committee the majority of which reported unfavorably to the prayer of the petitioners for the incorporation of the Jesuits' College in Worcester. His own able speeches, of which the newspapers gave at the time imperfect reports, are here printed at length, with notes in support and illustration of their arguments. Mr. Brownson reviewed the reports and debates on that question in his *Quarterly Review*, and copies of the article were extensively distributed. Mr. Brownson assumes that the case was decided without being thoroughly examined and presented. Mr. Hopkins, in his "Letter," sets himself to disprove this assumption, and argues that the case was deliberately and thoroughly debated and fairly decided.

"A Letter to a Young Man who has just entered College, from an Older One who has been through," (Boston, Crosby & Nichols, 12mo, pp. 39,) contains many excellent counsels and remarks upon the healthy training of mind and body in college life, with warnings drawn from experience against the neglect of health, and high moral and religious admonitions. We regret that one or two unwise and unnecessary remarks incidentally uttered in the pamphlet, and which we are disposed to charge upon some

remnant of dyspeptic sufferings, will make many parents unwilling to put this Letter into the hands of their sons.

A pamphlet "On the Character and Work of Christ," by William B. Hayden, (Boston, Otis Clapp, 12mo, pp. 83,) is dedicated to Dr. Bushnell, "partly because his positions have called forth these remarks, and partly because he has ventured to stand alone for the truth." Commendation and criticism share its contents, which are chiefly occupied with an examination of Dr. Bushnell's theories of the Incarnation and the Atonement. We lack either the taste to appreciate, or the intellectual ability to understand, the value of this and of similar subtle controversies on perplexing distinctions and visionary theories.

Mr. George R. Russell's Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Providence, Sept. 4, 1849, (Boston, Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, 8vo,) bears the title of "The Merchant." We do not hesitate to pronounce it as among the very highest specimens of the kind of addresses to which it belongs. Very few merely literary men could have written it. It sums up the results of a vast amount of the most judiciously chosen reading, and of keen observation extended over a wide range of men and things. Its sterling common-sense, its practical philosophy, and its generous superiority to all class prejudices, strike us on every page. The merchants may be proud of their representative before a literary society, and may feel that the dignity of their calling has been enhanced by this pamphlet, which is in no sense a plea for them, but simply a manly sketch of their place in the world's history and prosperity. After a fine exordium on the relation between commerce and culture, the oration presents a most lively and thorough survey of the history of commerce through all ages, all the world over, and then records briefly what it has done for man. In some brilliant pages near the close, the merchant turns the tables upon the college man, and, instead of apologizing for meddling with his themes, bids the scholar enlarge and improve the sphere of his professional calling by a livelier spirit, a more practical hand, and a hopeful belief that the world has yet rewards enough for all faithful toilers.

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THE rooms now occupied by Messrs. Little & Brown, on Washington Street, constitute together by far the largest establishment in the book business that can be found on this side of the water, with one exception. The Messrs. Harpers' publishing and printing offices are, of course, much larger, but their stock is composed of reprints and of domestic works, unlike that of Messrs. Little & Brown. Here we find, from time to time, fresh importations of the most costly works in science, art,

and general literature. They have recently received a splendid copy of Pistoletti, "The Vatican, described and illustrated," 8 vols. 4to, Rome, in which all the architectural, antiquarian, pictorial, sculptural, and mosaic treasures gathered in St. Peter's and the Vatican are represented in sharply-cut line engravings, and described in attractive letter-press. These rich volumes ought to grace one of our public libraries. —The study of classical antiquities, especially of Greek and Roman biography and mythology, has been made far more instructive and attractive than in the pages of Lemprière, by four new volumes on those subjects, of which Messrs. Little & Brown have imported a large edition. They are, a "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," in 3 vols. 8vo, and a "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," in 1 vol. 8vo, all edited by William Smith, LL. D. The editor has had the help of the most distinguished scholars, and their initials, to which there is a key, are affixed to their contributions. The most elaborate investigations, and their results, are here brought before the reader in a way that hardly admits of improvement, and the pages are illustrated by wood engravings.

Very rich editions of those two favorite books of childhood, "Watts's Divine Songs," and "Æsop's Fables," published in London, with all the attractions of modern art, will also be found at Little & Brown's.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., finding that their duodecimo edition of Macaulay's History was received with such favor, have undertaken the publication of Hume's History of England in the same style, and have already issued three volumes of it. This edition is offered at a very low price, remuneration being looked for from a very extensive sale, which we are glad to see rewards the enterprise of the publishers. The edition is every way suited to the wants of the large mass of readers, and when its publication is completed, with that of Macaulay's, the two works placed on a shelf will bring Tory and Whig into as harmonious a union as will probably be ever realized between them in this world.

The same publishers are issuing an elegant edition of Shakespeare, with remarks and notes, original and selected. It appears in semi-monthly numbers, each of which contains a play complete, with a steel engraving of its heroine. The type and paper are of the finest character, and the price is but twenty-five cents. Two numbers have been published.

From the same enterprising firm we have received Lamartine's History of the French Revolution of 1848, translated by Francis A. Durivage and William S. Chase, with an engraving of Lamartine. Of course no one can expect a sufficient history of such an event so soon after its occurrence, nor from an actor in it, especially if the writer be a poet. But Lamartine aims at perfect

truth ; his pages glow with the earnestness of sincerity, and the brilliancy of genius, and we may be sure that this French Revolution will never find a more interesting or graphic chronicler.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields have in preparation a most attractive variety of new volumes, among which are the following, which will, one by one, offer instruction or amusement for readers during the coming winter. Professor Felton, of Cambridge, has expanded his *Lecture on the Acadians* into a *History*. Longfellow promises a new volume of *Poems*, "*The Seaside and the Fireside*." "*The Boston Book for 1850*" will be an improvement on its predecessors. A new and enlarged edition of Dr. Holmes's *Poems* is called for, and will soon appear. Under the title of "*Heroines of the Church*," we are to have memoirs of distinguished American female missionaries. A new edition of the *Liturgy* used at King's Chapel is in preparation. A volume of *Miscellanies* from John G. Whittier, and one of *Essays, Lectures, and Miscellanies*, from Henry Giles, will find ready readers. The publications of this firm do credit to the American press, in every thing that belongs to art and good taste.

We hope, before another number of the *Examiner* is issued, to have in hand the first volume of Rev. William Ware's *Biographies of Distinguished American Liberal Ministers*, embracing the whole or a good part of the following honored names : — Worcester, Freeman, Bancroft, Mottey, Ripley, Thayer, Allyn, Ware, Harris, Porter, Emerson, Prince, and Kirkland.

Mr. Francis Bowen's two courses of *Lectures* before the Lowell Institute on "*The Application of Metaphysical and Ethical Science to the Evidences of Religion*," have been published in a very elegant form, in a large octavo volume, by Messrs. Little & Brown. We hope to do justice to them in our next number.

Professor Walker, of Harvard College, has edited a new edition of Stewart's "*Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*," revised, with omissions and additions (Cambridge, John Bartlett, 12mo, pp. 428). The peculiarities of this edition are designed to make it more suitable for a college text-book, and we should judge that this design had been most discreetly and successfully attained. That portion of the original work which discussed the evidence and doctrines of natural religion, being apart from its main object, has been omitted, as have been some passages not essential to the chief purpose of the volume. Illustrative notes, chiefly from various living or late writers, have been introduced, the Latin and Greek citations of the author have been translated, and sub-sections are indicated, which will greatly facilitate a methodical study of this excellent work. The notes constitute a running criticism upon it.

"*A Review of Trinitarianism*," by John Barling, (London, J. Chapman,) shall be noticed in our next number.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*The Peace Congress at Paris.* — The English and American journals have made repeated mention of the Convention of the Friends of Peace in the capital of France in the month of August, and have reported its progress and results. Various judgments have been passed upon the measure, the extremes of opinion concerning it having pronounced it, on the one hand, an amiable exhibition of an impracticable philanthropy, and, on the other hand, an expression of the highest wisdom and progress of our age, indicating the early triumph of Christian principles. We might keep within the limits of these extremes of judgment, and speculate at length upon the measure, though all our convictions and hopes are on the side of the most ardent members of the Congress. But, leaving all speculation upon the purposes and the practicability of the views of that Congress to such a faithful treatment as we hope the subject may very soon receive in our pages, we shall now content ourselves with a statement of the historical fact, and of the proceedings of that every way successful Convention at Paris.

William Penn was the first to propose the principles of international arbitration. The proposition has been repeatedly urged, and its feasibility illustrated in this country, especially by those honored and faithful laborers in the cause of peace, Worcester and Ladd. We observe with pleasure, that a copy of the engraved portrait of Worcester was presented to each of the members of the Congress at Paris. The first Peace Congress was held in London in 1843, and it was attended by some twenty-five delegates from the United States, and by many from various parts of the European continent. Last year another was held at Brussels, attended by one hundred and fifty delegates from England and the United States, and by as many from the Continent. Interest in the measure has been kept alive among the people of England by speeches, and public meetings, and frequent publications, and by the labors of Elihu Burritt and of Richard Cobden, M. P. One hundred and fifty meetings have been held in different parts of England. One thousand petitions have been sent to Parliament in favor of peace principles and international arbitration, and eighty-one members of the House of Commons voted in their support.

Paris certainly seemed rather an unpromising place in which to hold the third annual convention, but the friends of the measure judged wisely in their selection. Seven and a half centuries ago France witnessed a representative gathering of Europe, at Clermont. The tomb of Christ was the object then; now it was his doctrine and spirit which called together his, at least, better informed disciples. Considering that no delegated authority could be claimed by the members of the Peace Congress, it still bore very much of a representative character, as members of many constitutional bodies took leading parts in it. A preliminary meeting of English and American members of the Convention was held in London, to facilitate the arrangements and to allow in-

roductions. To this is to be ascribed much of the admirable order and harmony in which the measures were carried out. A party of seven hundred left London on the day appointed, and, after a public welcome from the authorities of Boulogne, where they landed, they passed on to Paris, relieved of all the annoyances of passports and custom-houses by the grateful favor of the government.

The Congress opened at Paris on Wednesday, August 22d, and continued through three days, with one session of five hours in each day, in the Salle St. Cecile, a large and elegant concert-hall. More than a thousand persons were gathered from the various nations whose flags waved above them, and the delegates were of both sexes. Among the citizens of the United States, who were prominent, were Elihu Burritt, Hon. C. Durkee, member of Congress from Wisconsin, Rev. Dr. Mahan, President of Oberlin Institute, Ohio, Rev. Dr. Allen, late President of Bowdoin College, Maine, Amasa Walker, Esq., Vice-President of the American Peace Society, and Rev. J. F. Clarke, of Boston.

The committee had invited the Archbishop of Paris to preside, but ill-health compelled him to decline the honor, and frustrated his intention of being present and of receiving the delegates at a *fête* at his palace. M. Victor Hugo was announced by the Secretary as the President of the Congress, and on either side of him, as two of the Vice-Presidents, were the Roman Catholic Abbé Duguerry, and the Protestant Pasteur Coquerel. The Archbishop of Paris was chosen an honorary Vice-President. Judicious rules of business and debate were adopted harmoniously, one of which prohibited "any direct allusion to the political events of the day." Prizes for peace essays were distributed, and a new prize—a gold medal of a hundred dollars' value—was offered for the best collection of peace sentiments, collected from writers in all languages, times, and lands.

Many admirable speeches were delivered, the most effective being those of the President, of Mr. Cobden, of Mr. Miall of the London "Nonconformist," and of M. Emile de Girardin, the erratic genius of "La Presse," the principal French journal. Those who did not give in their full adherence to the principles of the Congress, as Messrs. Billecoq and Feline, were received with marked disapprobation. The following are the resolutions which were adopted:—

"1. As peace alone can secure the moral and material interests of nations, it is the duty of all governments to submit to arbitration all differences that arise between them, and to respect the decisions of the arbitrators whom they may choose.

"2. It is of the highest importance to call the attention of governments to the necessity of entering, by a general and simultaneous measure, upon a system of disarmament, for the purpose of reducing the national expenditure, and of removing at the same time a permanent cause of disquietude and irritation from among the nations.

"3. The Congress recommends all the friends of peace to prepare public opinion in their respective countries for the formation of a Congress of Nations, whose sole object it should be to frame a code of international laws, on just principles, and to constitute a Supreme Court, to which should be submitted all questions relating to the reciprocal rights and duties of nations.

"4. The Congress condemns all loans and taxes intended for the prosecution of wars of ambition and conquest.

"5. The Congress recommends its members to endeavour to eradicate from the minds of all, in their respective countries, both by means of a better education of youth, and by other practical methods, those political prejudices and hereditary hatreds which have so often been the cause of disastrous wars.

"6. The Congress addresses the same invitation to all ministers of religion, whose sacred mission it is to encourage feelings of good-will among men; as well as to the various organs of the press, which exercise so powerful an influence over the progress of civilization.

"7. The Congress earnestly hopes for the improvement of the means of international communication; for the extension of postal reform; for the universal adoption of the same standard of weights, measures, and coinage; and for the multiplication of peace societies, which shall keep up a correspondence with each other.

"8. The Congress decides that the committee be instructed to draw up an address to all nations, embodying the resolutions of the Congress, and that this address shall be presented to the various governments, and that special means be taken to bring it under the attention of the President of the French Republic."

A committee was chosen to carry forward the objects of the Congress after its dissolution, by conducting an extensive correspondence, and devising other measures. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Tocqueville, and his lady, gave a splendid soirée to the members of the Congress, while the government threw open to them all the public works, and caused the great water-works at Versailles to play for them, — an honor generally reserved for sovereigns. A banquet was here given to the American delegates by their English brethren, in the course of which each of the former received from the latter a copy of the New Testament, with a suitable inscription, and friendly congratulations were exchanged.

Are not all these beautiful phenomena propitious signs and tokens of a coming age of peace and righteousness? Our hope and faith rest simply on this fact, — that if such a result is ever to come, it must be preceded and effected by such measures as we have above recorded. The vigorous working and success of these measures, growing, as they do, more serious and imposing, are prospective of that result.

The committee have decided upon holding the next Congress at Frankfort on the Maine.

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*The American Board of Missions.* — The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions celebrated the fortieth anniversary of its organization, on September 11th, at Pittsfield. The facilities of travel, the beauties of the place and season, the hospitalities of the people of the town, and the increasing interest and success of a sacred cause, secured a large attendance. The meetings of the board have, from year to year, a higher importance and significance, as they renew the zeal which has lost the charm of novelty, as they apply the test of experience, and put into exercise more practical wisdom. We always read the reports of the meetings with interest, and have perused several accounts of the last one with satisfaction and hope. We honor the zeal and devotion and self-sacrifice which are enlisted in this work. It is evident that, though many contribute large or trifling amounts to its



funds, its springs are fed by the prayers and labors of a few, who do not suffer the cause to lose ground. Nothing is more difficult than to form a correct opinion as to the actual success of missions to the heathen. The missionaries, for their own encouragement, cannot but look on their fields hopefully, and give the best reports concerning them which facts will warrant, to satisfy their supporters at home. Traders, sailors, and tourists generally give a discouraging view of the actual success of missions, but there is overwhelming evidence that their misconduct has heretofore done more than any other single cause to impede the missionaries.

Some excitement was looked for at the meeting at Pittsfield, from an agitation of the relation of the board to the encouragement of slavery. But the matter was peacefully disposed of. The missions to the Cherokees and Choctaws have admitted slaveholders to church-membership, and have hired slaves to be employed as servants at the stations. A correspondence with them and the Prudential Committee of the Board in Boston has resulted in regarding the admission of church-members as a matter of internal church discipline, in which the committee, not having the power of an ecclesiastical tribunal, leave the churches of the missions to decide upon the evidences of piety. A long and very interesting letter is given from the mission station of the Choctaw nation at Stockbridge. The missionaries say, that for more than a quarter of a century they have been painfully sensible of the difficulties of their position, and of the sad risks of bringing up their children amid the evils of slavery. Under such discouragements, nothing but a devout sense of duty has restrained them from fleeing from their posts and abandoning the work. They have seriously reviewed the whole matter, and give the results. The employment of slave labor by them is thought, at the North, to countenance and encourage a wicked system, to make it more profitable to the slave-owner, and to put it in his power to plead the example of the missionaries to justify or to excuse the system. The accused answer, that they would gladly be relieved from doing any thing to sanction a system, which they now countenance no more than is positively unavoidable. Their position is not understood. The committee in Boston cannot send them now, as they did twenty-five years ago, kind, faithful, and industrious mechanics and farmers from the Eastern States. Their best attempts to procure on the spot *free* help have obtained only the profane, the licentious, the intemperate, and the dishonest, almost to the ruin of two of their schools. The missionaries are often absent on preaching tours of a fortnight, leaving families of twenty or thirty females. Thus they have been compelled to hire slaves, and can find them of excellent character, who regard it as a great privilege to reside with the missionaries. As to the encouragement thus given to the system by its pecuniary gain to slave-owners, the missionaries acknowledge the force of this objection, but urge that the encouragement is not so great as is supposed, and that it bears no comparison with the support which slavery derives from the use of the products of slave labor in the Free States, in England, and elsewhere. It would be more practicable for such free places to dispense with these products, than for the missionaries to have a horse shod, food cooked, or ground tilled, without being compelled to hire slaves. Why should the missionaries alone suffer, while the rest of the world goes without rebuke? Finally, the missionaries say that their whole moral influence

is in opposition to slavery. Here the matter is allowed to rest for the present.

Much harmony and deep devotional feeling were manifested at the meetings of the Board ; many brief reports were presented, and there was but little discussion. The Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen presided, and the Rev. Dr. Cox preached one of his characteristic sermons. The great lack of missionary candidates was much lamented ; thirty-eight missionaries are needed at this moment, and only five or seven are to be had. There was the usual difference of opinion on such occasions, whether men or money were the more wanted. The best rule in such doubtful cases is, to strive equally and simultaneously for both men and funds. Eleven returned missionaries were present, and there was some suppressed uneasiness at the expense of these home visits for purposes of health and matrimony. It is probable, however, that the interest which the presence and the addresses of these laborers in distant missionary fields communicate to a meeting, and their influence in making real and almost visible the objects of their labor, far more than compensate for the cost of their voyages. The great crisis in the work of missions will be found when the period arrives for relying more upon native laborers in the ministry than upon foreign aid in men or money.

The receipts of the board for the last year were \$254,056. Fifty-five *per cent.* of this whole amount came from the churches in the New England States. Five slave States contributed about two *per cent.* of the amount.

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*The American Missionary Association.* — This Association of Christians holding the same general doctrinal opinions, and having in view the same evangelical labors, as belong to the American Board, held its Third Anniversary in Boston, on September 25th. Its members are dissatisfied with the compromising character of the elder organization, and it recognizes as its peculiar distinctions, that it will receive no impure gifts, no funds from slaveholders, into its treasury, that it will oppose the prevailing sins of an age or nation, that it will admit no slaveholder to communion, nor lay too great stress on theological doctrines or external rites and forms. There was much earnest discussion at this meeting, and we observe that another element of discord came up among these separatists. Some of the members were desirous of having an address from Mrs. Brooks, wife of a missionary to Africa ; others successfully opposed the motion, to the offence of the former. We see that one angry member protests against the decision, and withdraws from the Society, because a woman was not allowed to speak.

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*The Autumnal Convention at Portland, Maine.* — Such full and extended reports of the proceedings and speeches at this Convention have been already given in our religious papers, and have been, doubtless, perused by most of our readers, as to leave no occasion for their repetition, at length, by us. This was the Eighth of the Autumnal Conventions which the Unitarian clergy and laity have held in places distant from Boston, where Anniversary Week in the Spring seems to convene its full share of meetings.

A very large number of our brethren were gathered at Portland, on Tuesday, October 9th, the day appointed, and were received with the

kindest hospitalities. Early in the afternoon the strangers and residents who were to compose the Convention assembled in the Park Street Church. Rev. Dr. Thompson of Salem, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, called the meeting to order, and, after it was temporarily organized, the Rev. Dr. Keadall of Plymouth offered prayer, and a committee of five was chosen to nominate officers of the Convention.

William Willis, Esq., of Portland, Chairman *pro tem.*, then announced the intended order and proceedings of the Convention, and was followed by appropriate remarks initiatory to what might follow, from Rev. Drs. Nichols, Gannett, and Parkman, and Rev. Messrs. H. W. Bellows, Waterston, Hedge, and Morison. The session was closed with prayer by Rev. Calvin Lincoln of Fitchburg. The appointed evening service took place in Park Street Church, the sermon being preached by Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester. *Text*, Acts xk. 26, 27: *Subject*, "Ministerial Responsibility and Fidelity."

Wednesday, October 10th. The Convention being called to order at 9 o'clock, A. M., prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton, and the following gentlemen were chosen officers, on the nomination of the Committee:—Rev. Dr. Nichols, President, Hon. Robert Rantoul, of Beverly, Rev. F. A. Farley of Brooklyn, John Prentiss, Esq., of Keene, Rev. G. W. Hosmer of Buffalo, and J. W. Foster, Esq., of Portsmouth, Vice-Presidents; Rev. C. Palfrey of Belfast, Me., and Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester, Secretaries.

Hon. Charles S. Daveis, of Portland, one of the Committee of Arrangements, welcomed the brethren, and reviewed some of the religious memorials associated with the place and occasion. Dr. Thompson of Salem then offered a series of resolutions, and invited a perfectly free discussion which might range beyond them. The first resolution that was debated was:—

"*Resolved*, That thorough views and pungent representations of the evil of sin are essential to the religious vitality of our churches and to the establishment of evangelical truth."

Rev. H. W. Bellows commenced the discussion of this resolution, which was followed by Rev. Dr. Hall, Rev. Messrs. Hosmer, and Lincoln of Hampton Falls, Rev. Dr. Furness, Rev. C. C. Shackford, Amos Nourse, M. D., of Bath, Rev. J. Pierpont, and Dr. Parkman, when a recess of an hour took place, and, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Farley, the discussion was resumed by George G. Channing, Rev. Messrs. Jones Very and C. Palfrey, and Rev. Dr. Nichols. The first resolution having passed, the second was offered.

"*Resolved*, That Christianity, as a practical religion, aims at producing a conscious union of the soul with God, and a continual influence of the highest religious truths upon the life; and, with our views of the nature and design of the Gospel, it especially devolves upon us to present these as the aim and effect of our religion, alike in our teaching and our character."

In the course of the discussion on this resolution by Rev. Dr. Gannett and Messrs. Morison and Bellows, the Rev. R. L. Carpenter, of Bridgewater, England, son of the late Dr. Lant Carpenter of Bristol, was introduced, and addressed the meeting with great earnestness and interest.

After prayer by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Portsmouth, the Convention adjourned to attend the collation provided by the ladies in the rotunda of

the Exchange, where a very large assembly was gathered, and made welcome by remarks from Hon. Charles S. Daveis, which were responded to by Rev. Drs. Parkman, Furness, Gannett, and Hall, and Rev. Messrs. Bellows, Hedge, Pierpont, Hale, and Waterston. Not all was solemn here; but genial, happy, and well-sustained cheerfulness prevailed.

In the evening a religious service was held in the First Church (Dr. Nichols's), when a sermon was preached by Rev. J. Weiss of New Bedford. *Text*, Job xvi. 1: *Subject*, "The Nature, Indications, and Means of Inspiration of the Individual Soul."

A conference and prayer-meeting was held early in the morning of Thursday, the 11th, till the Convention reopened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Bellows. The next resolution was then offered for discussion.

"*Resolved*, That it is no less a privilege than a duty to diffuse the knowledge and influence of the Gospel, by the support of Christian churches and Christian missions, and by the cultivation of friendly regards among Christian brethren, whether near or distant."

George W. Warren, Esq., and Albert Fearing, Esq., of Boston, Mr. Fenno, of Augusta, Me., Rev. Messrs. Taggart of Albany, Richardson of Haverhill, and Carpenter of England, offered remarks, and then the two following resolutions were taken up, and discussed by Rev. Messrs. Hale, Bellows, and Judd, till the intermission, and the discussion was continued in the afternoon by J. B. Congdon, Esq., of New Bedford, and Rev. Messrs. Hadley of Portland and Forbes of Bridgewater.

"*Resolved*, That the Gospel addresses itself primarily to the individual conscience and heart; that it seeks to effect the personal renewal and sanctification of its disciples, by revealing and enforcing the law of duty, and by raising the affections to God: but that it also contemplates, as its ultimate earthly result, the regeneration of society and the complete establishment of the kingdom of heaven; and that, in accomplishing this object, it demands the coöperation of all who seek to live its life.

"*Resolved*, That Unitarian Christians, holding fast the great principles of the Reformation, asserting the right and duty of unrestricted inquiry, and believing that the faithful and patient investigation of the Scriptures is necessarily followed by an increase of religious light, are called upon to rejoice whenever through these means their opinions are corrected, and their apprehension of the principles and doctrines of Christianity is improved; and that they hail with equal pleasure every indication of progress in other denominations towards a more perfect theology; since thereby the hope is encouraged of an approaching union of all Christians in 'the truth as it is in Jesus Christ,' and in 'the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.'"

The next resolution was as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That we remember with gratitude and encouragement the pure lives and peaceful deaths of the ministers who, during the past year, have been removed from us."

This resolution was adopted by the Convention, all rising, after remarks by Rev. Drs. Parkman, Thompson, and Nichols, and Messrs. Hale and Hill of Worcester, and Brigham of Taunton.

Rev. Dr. Gannett then took up the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That while we would be grateful to God for the exalted privileges of our position in the Church of Christ, it becomes us to be humble in view of the little we have done, as contrasted with our opportunities, for

establishing his kingdom in our hearts and extending it in the world; that we see the necessity of new and more devoted efforts for awakening the life of religion in our churches. For these efforts we trust that in our mutual counsels here, and our united prayers to God, we have obtained 'grace to keep us,' and that spirit of Christian holiness without which we must forever labor in vain."

After its passage, thanks were voted to the President of the Convention, and to the friends in Portland, with remarks from Drs. Thompson and Nichols, and Rev. Messrs. Cutler and Judd.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Committee of Arrangements for the next Autumnal Convention: Rev. Messrs. Calvin Lincoln, Edward E. Hale, and Charles Brigham, William Willis, Esq., and J. F. Flagg, M. D. After prayer by Dr. Nichols, the Convention closed.

Religious services were again held in the evening. Rev. Mr. Hosmer preached. *Text*, Luke xii. 50, and 2 Cor. ii. 16: *Subject*, "The Burden of Life, and how it is to be borne." The Lord's Supper was then administered by Rev. Dr. Gannett and Rev. Mr. Waterston.

Thus closed one of the most protracted, serious, and comprehensive in its subjects of discussion, of all our Conventions. Who can trace the workings of its influence in human hearts and minds?

*The Religious Newspaper Press.*—Any person who, from inclination or from a sense of professional duty, is in the habit of reading the "religious newspapers," so called, finds in them matter which leads him constantly to balance their good and evil influences. That so many large sheets can be covered each week without involving some degrees of error, mischief, and unkindness could scarcely be expected by any reasonable person. That they must contain much of a crude and superficial character might be safely pronounced by those who had never read one of them. Though painfully sensible of these defects, we feel perfectly satisfied that the good which is in them outweighs the bad. Those of us who are surrounded, even to annoyance, with the products of the press, cannot appreciate the value and the interest which a weekly religious paper has to those who reside in quiet towns and villages, and to even more secluded persons, whose days are passed in scattered country dwellings. In such places it is prized at its full worth.

A controversy has lately been going on between Mr. Morse of "The New York Observer," and Mr. Willis, late proprietor of "The Boston Recorder," both of whom claim to have originated the latter paper. The controversy became very angry before it was closed, though it was thought to involve, as an honor worth contesting, the credit of having undertaken the first religious paper in this country, if not in the world. But while the dispute was in progress, two or three other rival claimants, in other parts of the country, assumed to have issued such papers at an earlier period than the date of the commencement of the Recorder.

We look to our numerous papers, and not without reason, that they will do much towards softening and neutralizing sectarian bitterness. When it became the fashion for each religious denomination to establish a paper in support of its own peculiarities, many good men, who stood aloof from sectarian strife, feared that these mutually hostile and rival

organs would mingle acrimony with our differences and increase them, would alienate and inflame feelings, would multiply and enlarge our divisions, and render the possibility of harmony more distant. There really was reason for these apprehensions, and many bitter fruits were actually engendered. But the danger and the evil have been of late greatly relieved by a most singular instrumentality, by a most unlooked-for, yet effective, agency, whose workings it is equally instructive and amusing to watch. When each sect had its own religious newspaper, matter for controversy was found chiefly by each denomination with other denominations. Now most of our large sects have more than one paper in each of our large cities, and each rival enterprise of publisher and editor represents a schism in each of these sects. Between these schisms of their own sects controversy is now, to a great extent, waged. Attention, interest, and strife are withdrawn, in good part, from opposing denominations, and are found in the religious papers to be given to the dissensions, the subdivisions of opinion, or the conscientious differences of those who are gathered in the same fold. Either doctrinal views, or philanthropic sympathies, or philosophical tendencies, make themselves so important and conspicuous as causes of difference in the large denominations, that new papers are started to express them. Great heretics now enjoy rest, if not in the fold.

"The Boston Recorder" was, for a long time, the only Calvinistic paper in this city and State. Then "The New England Puritan" commenced a rivalry with it, not wholly peaceful or kindly. Next "The Boston Reporter" presented its claims, founded on reasons of difference. Very lately the Recorder and the Puritan joined their titles and their subscription lists. Yet another party was started in the same Calvinistic fold, and a new paper, under the name of "The Congregationalist," has ingulphed the Reporter. The Congregationalist is a spirited paper, for the most part mild and generous in its tone, and conducted with great ability by several of the liberal-minded ministers of its denomination.

The same denomination in New York has long supported two large weekly religious papers, "The Evangelist" and "The Observer," which represented two parties founded chiefly on differences of opinion and method concerning philanthropic subjects. But now, and for nearly a year, there has come to us from the Calvinistic body in New York "The Independent," a noble paper, earnest, candid, and enterprising, whose large and well-filled columns we should greatly miss on the Sabbath if the paper failed us. There are many sharp shots in this paper which are not aimed at us. We hope we are innocent in watching their effect. Even the Roman Catholics have their rival newspapers, which find matters of difference among themselves, and so far spare others.

But the Episcopal papers exceed all others for the fierceness of their mutual assaults, and the number and the bitterness of their matters of strife. Let the following instances, the last of hundreds which we have noticed, show how brethren of one fold, and that the fold, may differ.

"The Christian Witness," which is as yet the only paper devoted to the Episcopal denomination in Boston, recently brought a complaint against the American Tract Society. This society, says the Witness, embraces members "of several Evangelical denominations, who are united together on certain general principles. Among them, of course, is the mutual understanding, without which the society would at once fall to pieces, that nothing is to be published prejudicial to the faith or interests

of any one of the contracting parties." "The American Messenger," which is said to have a circulation of one hundred thousand copies, is the organ of the Tract Society. The Christian Witness accused the Messenger of violating neutrality by publishing an article highly prejudicial to the interests of *the Church*. The complaint was strongly urged, and the Messenger, being put on the defensive, will be generally allowed to have come off unharmed, as it shows that the article complained of "originally appeared in an Episcopal paper, and was written by an Episcopal minister"!

But the contents of all the other papers which express the peculiar phases of the different denominations are of the very essence of meekness and gentleness when compared with what may be found in the contentious columns of "The Calendar," "The Churchman," "The Protestant Churchman," and "The Episcopal Recorder," all of which belong to the Episcopal denomination. Their mutual abuse and jealousies are so fierce and angry, as to amount to an absolute scandal on the cause of sobriety and good neighbourhood, to say nothing of religion. The only gleam of hope that shines on the matter is, that no one layman or woman sees the whole four papers. Ministers can understand their strifes, and allow for them without losing their faith, — as all lay people cannot. "The Calendar" has long been mourning over the *Romanizing tendency* of the New York General Episcopal Theological Seminary. In its sheet for August 25th, it describes some of the pupils of the seminary as "lackadaisical youths in cassocks that sweep the sidewalks, devoting themselves to filigree work and embroidery, and bewailing worldliness in drawing-rooms"; and again, as "the merest foplings of divinity undertaking to prate of the keys, and to assume the position of penitentiaries," — rather a trying position, we should think. "The Protestant Churchman" sustains the charges, and "The Churchman" indignantly repels them. But we should do injustice, perhaps, to both these last-named papers, if we were to quote a specimen of their scandalous contention, unless we explained the way in which, for a series of years, they have been mutually exciting each other. We do not find in such facts proofs of the old adage, that "the nearer Christians agree, the worse they contend." Some one word in that, as in many other adages, is certainly wrong; but whether in this case it be the word *Christian*, or the word *agree*, we will not undertake to decide, though we cannot help a misgiving, that those who contend so sharply, supposing them to be Christians, do not *agree* very nearly together. Such strifes, however, look worse to spectators from the outside, than to those who engage in them: but these should remember that those are looking on.

Now, that the bitterness and mutual misunderstanding between the different denominations are relieved in a measure by these household contentions may seem to some a strange assertion, but it is strictly true. Those who cannot agree among themselves cannot require agreement of others with them; they have also less time and thought to devote to others; they are made to realize the perplexities of truth, and the independence of opinion, while their discords choke that earnest utterance of deep conviction which alone can be the warrant for censuring or warning heretics.

We are relieved of the obligation to apply our remarks to our own religious papers, because we have but two, and because they both allow

such a wide and free range of opinions and judgments, as to preclude the necessity of rivalry and opposition. "The New York Inquirer" is now established on a most satisfactory basis, both as regards its editorial and its financial arrangements. We may well be proud of its high religious and literary character, and of that union of scholarship, fervor, brilliancy, and industry, in obtaining interesting information, of which its weekly sheet gives evidence. It certainly cannot be accused of making an idol of consistency, or of allowing the merits of only one side of a controversy to appear. It is generous, catholic, and devotional. Its conductors have set before themselves their own high standard, and we hope they may keep up to it, for they cannot exceed it.

Our own "Christian Register" has taken many of its readers by surprise in announcing the names of the Rev. J. H. Morison, the Rev. A. P. Peabody, the Rev. E. Peabody, and the Rev. F. D. Huntington, as its four editors. The Rev. N. S. Folsom having for more than two years conducted the paper with great ability and judgment, as his scholarship and experience made him well qualified to do, and having written during that time the whole editorial matter, has left this neighbourhood to assume the offices of pastor and professor at Meadville, where we wish for him the highest success. We may safely say, that the Christian Register is now in competent hands, and that the editors will find it no easy task to fulfil the expectations of our community from a paper which bears those four names.

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*Ordinations.* — MR. FISCHE BARRETT, a member of the last graduating class of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained Pastor of the First Church in Lexington, September 5, 1849. The Introductory Prayer was by the brother of the candidate, Rev. S. Barrett, D. D., of Boston. Selections from Scripture were read by Rev. James F. Brown, of West Cambridge. Sermon by Rev. Chandler Robbins, of Boston. Prayer of Ordination by Rev. Professor Noyes, of Cambridge. Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Augustus Woodbury, of Concord, N. H. Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Robinson, of Medfield.

MR. OLIVER J. FERNALD, of the class of 1847 of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as an Evangelist at Thomaston, Me., September 14, 1849. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture, by Rev. Mr. Cutler, of Portland, Me. Sermon by Rev. F. H. Hedge, of Bangor, Me. Prayer of Ordination by Rev. Cazneau Palfrey, of Belfast, Me. Charge by Rev. Mr. Wheeler, of Topsham, Me. Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. G. R. Reynolds, of Jamaica Plain. Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Wheeler.

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*Installation.* — REV. SAMUEL OSGOOD, late Pastor of the Westminster Congregational Church, in Providence, R. I., was installed as Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York, on Wednesday evening, Oct. 3, 1849. Rev. Dr. Putnam, of Roxbury, offered the Introductory Prayer. Rev. F. A. Farley, of Brooklyn, L. I., read Selections from Scripture. Rev. Dr. Dewey preached the Sermon. Rev. Dr. Gannett, of Boston, offered the Prayer of Installation. Rev. Dr. Hall, of Providence, R. I., gave the Charge. Rev. H. W. Bellows, of New York, gave the Fellowship of the Churches; and the Rev. F. D. Huntington, of Boston, offered the Concluding Prayer.



*Dedication.*—The Chapel erected at Bridgeport, Ct., by Madame Van Polanen, was dedicated to the worship of the One God, through Jesus Christ, on Thursday afternoon, October 4, 1849. Introductory Prayer by Rev. H. W. Bellows, of New York. Selections from Scripture by Rev. J. Richardson, of Haverhill. Prayer of Dedication by Rev. Dr. Gannett, of Boston. Sermon by Rev. F. A. Farley, of Brooklyn, L. I. Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr. Parkman, of Boston.

Services were likewise held in the new chapel in the evening, when a sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Dewey. After these services were closed, measures were taken to organize a society which should meet for public worship, from Sabbath to Sabbath, in the temple just consecrated. As was expected, but a very small number of persons were ready to enlist in a movement which bears with it so many prejudices in Connecticut. But enough were found to encourage a strong faith, and we hope the pious undertaking may be prospered.

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#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Bishop Chase on "A Notable Corruption of Scripture."*—In the article on the History of the Bible Society, on a previous page, reference is made to a most remarkable publication by Bishop Chase, of Illinois, the presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States. He entitles his piece, "A Notable Corruption of the Bible," and he begins it by a very just, but for the occasion most unfortunate, reference to "the duty of the Bishops, as conservators of the truth, to keep the Holy Scriptures free from corruption." Now, had we space, it might be a fruitful theme, not for angry strife, but for kindly rivalry, to inquire whether "the Bishops" or the Dissenting divines have shown themselves the more zealous, the more laborious, and the more learned in scholarly and pious efforts to guard the purity of the Scriptures, to authenticate their records, and to defend and illustrate their authority. Had this pious task been left entirely to the divines of the Church of England, as the only class of Protestants who might undertake it, what scholar does not know that the world would have lost a very large proportion of its most precious contributions to Biblical literature? Indeed, overwhelming evidence might be adduced to prove that the Dissenters, so called, acting from a deep sense of their responsibility in this matter, have accomplished far more towards fulfilling it than have "the Bishops and their clergy." *Dissent* began in Biblical study, and has ever since vindicated itself by unanswerable arguments drawn from the Bible. The greatest Biblical scholars on the Continent of Europe, and in America, have always been Dissenters. Nearly all the vernacular translations of the Scriptures by Protestants have been made by Dissenters. Our own version owed its origin to a Puritan, and Puritan scholars made a large proportion of the body of its translators. The most famous Orientalists in England have been found among the Puritans and Dissenters. The most effective vindications of the Scriptures against infidelity have come largely from the same sources. Even the Concordance, which saves all preachers so much labor, came from the pen of one educated among Dissenters. Who, that is competent to pronounce an opinion on the facts of the case, is not well aware that

the works of the persecuted and non-conforming ministers, of such men as Owen, and Baxter, and Bunyan, and Watts, and Doddridge, have done far more to kindle and to keep alive the flame of piety in the hearts of the multitude of men, women, and children in England, than have any works which have issued from the favored Church Establishment! What popular devotional or practical religious work from the pen of an English bishop or priest — saving, perhaps, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* — can be named as rivalling the influence of a volume from one of the authors just mentioned? The Dissenters have not failed in their duty to the cause of popular religion, and we think that they have been equally faithful and successful in the performance of that duty which Bishop Chase regards as the peculiar obligation of "the Bishops." We would not be unmindful of the generous devotion and the noble fruits of the pious labors of English Episcopal divines, given to the Scriptures. Some of them have been faithful; but we cannot forget that the most scholarlike and pious among them have been those who have laid the least stress upon their prelatical claims, and have made the least extravagant demands for Episcopacy. Nor can we, writing in a library from whose walls piety and learning address us with so many touching memorials of suffering and of toil, forget what Biblical and Gospel literature owe to the untitled and unbeneficed clergy of Dissent.

But let us look at that "notable corruption" which Bishop Chase charges upon Cromwell and the Independents.

The beginning of the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles records an incident of great interest in the early history of the Christian Church. Many converts to the new and despised faith were impoverished by the loss of their former ways and means for obtaining a livelihood. As a beautiful token of the spirit of our faith, which has ever since been manifested as occasion called for it, though the custom was then new to the world, a common charity fund was collected, and from this the Christian poor were aided by distribution made by the Apostles on the first day of the week, — the Lord's day. The work of dispensing food or money, or both, soon became burdensome, and a jealousy arose, that the poor converts from among the Gentiles did not receive as much as did the poor converts from among the Israelites. To rid themselves of this burden and jealousy, the twelve Apostles suggested that it was "not reasonable that they should leave the word of God, and serve tables." They therefore asked "the multitude of the disciples," to select seven proper men from among themselves, "whom WE may appoint over this business." The word WE is thus distinguished in our types, because of Bishop Chase's charge: the importance of that word will soon appear. The Apostles desired that these seven men might be selected, in order that they themselves might be relieved of serving tables, and might give themselves "continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word." The result was, that the seven men were chosen, who were called "*Deacons*." These were the first persons so named in the Christian Church. "The multitude of the disciples" selected them, and the Apostles, as was proper, formally transferred to them the office of tending on the charity-tables, which they had heretofore regarded as their own duty.

Now, the strong ground which the "Dissenters" occupy in this passage Bishop Chase wholly overlooks; he does not for a moment

advert to it. We urge that the office of a *deacon*, as herein described, agrees perfectly with the nature and functions of that office in an Independent or Congregational Church. The agreement is complete. The deacons "serve tables," which the first deacons were expressly chosen to do. But in the Episcopal Church, the deacon is a preacher, an inferior clergyman, and the very thing he may not do is to "serve tables," for he cannot take a part in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The Episcopal deacon performs the work of praying and preaching, which the Apostles wished to disencumber by instituting for another purpose the office of deacon. Which functionary comes nearer to the Apostolic description of a *deacon*, the officer who bears that name in our New England churches, or the young preacher among the Episcopalians? The Episcopalians attempt to evade this argument by proving that some of the first seven deacons became preachers and exhorters. This is not to the point. So did many of "the multitude of the disciples" become preachers without having been deacons. So do many New England deacons become exhorters. The very qualities of zeal and devotion and a good report, which led to the selection of the first *deacons*, would naturally make them exhorters. The point, however, is, not what they did afterwards and besides serving tables, but what they did *as deacons*; what they were chosen to do *as deacons*. In the answer to that question lies the Apostolic idea of the office of a deacon. We submit that that idea, if it does not exclude, certainly does not necessarily include, the function of public praying and preaching, — the ministry of the word, — nor does it suggest the image of a young man taking orders, entering the lowest grade of the ministry preparatory to rising by successive steps to the priesthood and a bishopric. The Apostolic idea of the office of a deacon rather calls up to our minds the image of a man somewhat advanced in years, well acquainted with the members of a Christian congregation, especially with the poor among them, to whom he distributes Christian charity, while he also "serves tables."

Neglecting, however, all reference to this view and use of the passage of Apostolic history, Bishop Chase opens another issue. It appears that when the disciples at large had selected the deacons, (which word in the original Greek means, literally, *servants who tend on tables*;) they were instituted into office by the Apostles. The theory of Episcopacy is, that Bishops are official successors of the Apostles, and have the exclusive right of ordaining candidates for the first grade in the ministry, who, when ordained, are called *deacons*, till they become *priests*. Bishops claim this right, because the Apostles claimed it, as they said to the disciples, "Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom WE may appoint over this business," namely, of serving tables. So important is the little word WE in this sentence. The Bishop knows that the Puritans do not allow that the prelates are the exclusive official successors of the Apostles, and that among *Dissenters* the ministers are ordained by other ministers and by their own churches, that is, as prelacy declares, by mere laymen. Not having actual Apostles among us, we of course cannot avail ourselves of their consecrating hands, as we should be glad to do.

The ground of the Bishop's complaint is, that the Dissenters made "a notable corruption" of Scripture in order to sustain their heresy. His own words are, that

"In the time of Oliver Cromwell, who had put down both Bishops and Presbyters in the Church of Christ, there was published from the British press an edition of the Bible, *apparently* a true copy, but containing one remarkable corruption, changing the word WE into the word YE in the verse above quoted. No remonstrance was made, for none *could* be made, against the corruption so stealthily introduced to serve the purposes of those who opposed both the Episcopal and Presbyterian pretensions to authority in divine things pertaining to the Church. What a sore in the eyes of Cromwell and his friends, the Independents, was the word WE in this all-important text ! It implied the exercise of a power given unto the Apostles by the great Head of the Church, commanding them (not the brethren at large) to ordain or appoint the ministers. This did not suit the newly adopted creed and practice of the ruling party. Cromwell, seeing this, authorized his friends to change the word WE into the word YE. 'YE,' the brethren, 'may appoint.' A most notable corruption, over which the faithful ministers might weep and complain in secret, at their leisure, but which none had the power publicly to correct."

The writer of the article on the American Bible Society, on our previous pages, furnished in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 12th July, 1849, an exposure of the gross errors into which Bishop Chase has fallen in the above paragraph, and in his subsequent statements. It is enough to say, in answer to the above charge, that Cromwell had nothing to do with the *mere accidental error of the press* above referred to, for it does not occur in a single edition of the Bible printed while Cromwell was in power. The error first appeared in an edition of the Bible printed at Cambridge, England, in 1638, when Charles the First and his Archbishop Laud were in full authority, and the error did not appear for the second time till the year of the restoration of Charles the Second, 1660, more than a year after Cromwell's death. So much for Bishop Chase's first and most absurd attempt to fix on Cromwell an artifice of which he was wholly innocent. One can scarce restrain a smile at what must be the learned Bishop's confusion of face.

Passing over the next two statements of the Bishop, the errors and confusion of dates contained in which are fully exposed in the learned newspaper communication to which we have referred, we have space to state only one more of the Bishop's points. He says, "Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Massachusetts Bay, printed the first Bible ever published in America; and the same, containing this notable corruption, was circulated throughout New England; and agreeing, as it does, with the imported copies of Cromwell's edition, was thought to be authentic."

The writer in the Advertiser replies to these specifications, that "Thomas did not print the first Bible in America. An edition for the Indians was printed at Cambridge, and three editions for the Germans were printed at Germantown, before any English Bible was printed in America; the first English Bible being printed by Robert Aitkin, Philadelphia, in 1782, and *containing the verse in question correctly printed*. Thomas's first Bible was printed at Worcester, in 1792, and *this also contains a correct rendering of the verse.*"

Indeed it would be difficult to put into the same compass more errors than are to be found in Bishop Chase's paragraphs. In all kindness we cannot but say, that the Bishop's piece is singularly unfortunate as an attempt to recommend to his brother prelates their duty as "conservators of the truth."

There are other remarkable errors in the Bishop's piece, independent of this most unfortunate use of a mere typographical mistake in a text of Scripture. For instance, the Bishop says, that "Dean Berkeley frequently visited Yale College," — which he never did; that "Dr. Cutler was its first President," — which he was not; that "Dr. Johnson was its first Professor," — which he was not; that the Dean "gave a sum of money, the interest of which was to be applied in bestowing a gold medal upon the best Greek scholar," — which he did not, as he gave no money, made no provision for a gold medal, and did not offer any reward merely to the best Greek scholar. After his return to England, the Dean sent a deed of his farm in Rhode Island to Yale College, the rents of which were to be divided between the best three classical scholars in each graduating class, on condition that they resided at the College at least nine months out of the three successive years. The Bishop also says, that the Dean gave his library to the College, and that on its reception the fact leaked out, that several of the officers had become Episcopalians, whereas these officers had become Episcopalians more than ten years before the Dean sent a donation of books from England to the College. These, however, are small matters, compared with the aspersion upon Cromwell.

Since the above was written, we have seen "The Motto of Jubilee College," for September 20, 1849, in which Bishop Chase replies to the communication of "G. L." in the Boston Daily Advertiser. This reply is, without exception, the most remarkable document that has ever fallen under our notice. The Bishop says in it, that he is an old man of seventy-three years. That announcement, together with his general repute for Christian excellence and devotion, restrains our pen from writing of his course in this matter as we might, if we yielded only to a reasonable feeling. We will add but a few words to explain the nature of his reply. He had charged upon Cromwell the intentional corruption of Scripture. It is proved that the alleged corruption was merely an error of the press, with which Cromwell was no more concerned than Bishop Chase himself, it having appeared before Cromwell was in power, it having disappeared while he was in power, and it having reappeared after his death. Now, instead of candidly admitting his error, the Bishop makes a reply, more than two thirds of which is wholly and even absurdly irrelevant to the matter, and as for the rest, he maintains that he has done no *new* injury to the character of Cromwell, and that he has as good a right to speak severely of him as to speak severely of Nebuchadnezzar and Mohammed. We make the following extracts from the astounding statements of the Bishop, and leave them to be judged of by our readers.

"As to the person or persons by whom the alteration was made in the *printed* Bible, there may be different opinions. Some persons in the interest of the party disaffected might have done it even at Oxford, in the time of Laud. It was discovered and corrected as a typographical error; but by whom? By Cromwell and his friends? No; Cromwell never corrected an error which so much favored his designs and his own deeds; or if he did condemn the corruption with his mouth, his character justifies us in believing that he rejoiced in his heart that it was made, and acted accordingly, as he did in a similar case in the murder of his king. No comment is necessary in order to justify what Bishop Chase has said of him, in regard to the text of Scripture in

question. If he did not originate the corruption, he assented to it when made, or found [it?] to have been made, which, perhaps, suited his purposes better."

There! Let any other "conservator of the truth" match this reasoning if he can. Conservator of the truth! Heaven help the mark!

Now the most significant fact in reference to this whole matter is, that the Congregationalists and Independents are not in the least degree troubled with the true word WE in the text of Scripture. It is not denied that the Apostles administered the Christian Church while they lived. The fundamental question is, whether those who are technically called "Bishops" succeed to full Apostolic authority over all Christian ministers!

*Lowell Institute.* — Arrangements have been made for the delivery of the following courses of Lectures this season, before the Lowell Institute: —

1. On the Progress of Organization among Plants; by Professor Wm. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin.
2. On Natural Religion; by Alonzo Potter, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.
3. On Heat and Light; by Professor Edward Lasell, of Williams College.
4. On the History of the Federal Constitution; by George Ticknor Curtis, Esq.
5. On Agricultural Chemistry; by Professor James F. W. Johnston, of England.

*Harvard University.* — All the departments of this institution are now in a flourishing condition. The new class of undergraduates is unusually large. Such arrangements have been made as will relieve President Sparks of many of those petty tasks and details of parietal management, which have of late visited upon the presidential office too great an amount of care and annoyance. The Law School has its full complement of professors and lecturers, and is resorted to by students from the whole extent of our country. The same is true of the Medical School, though this has more rival institutions. Some impatience has been felt and expressed in the community, to have the Scientific School made at once effective in offering its helps for the instruction of pupils in practical science. The difficulty of obtaining competent persons in this department, with the limited means which are within the ability of the Corporation to offer, is very great. The salary of a professorship here is but a small compensation, compared with what a man of practical science can secure from the exercise of his skill where it is called for in some of the great works now in progress through the country. The appointment of Mr. Henry L. Eustis as Professor of Engineering has given pleasure to the friends of the Lawrence Scientific School.

The Divinity School still crowds all its tasks of instruction upon its two professors, who do their utmost to sustain the burden. The new class consists of ten young men, five of whom are graduates of the College. An organ has lately been procured for the chapel in Divinity Hall, which adds to the enjoyment of religious services there. Any friend of the School will do it a valuable kindness by bestowing means for the purchase of new volumes for the library.

## OBITUARY.

## THE REV. HENRY COLMAN.

The tidings of the death of this distinguished man were received by his friends among us with equal surprise and sadness. No one had warmer friends than he, and his own kindly disposition and energetic character had brought him into connection with a very extensive circle.

Mr. Colman was born in Boston, September 12, 1785. Receiving here his early education, he was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1805, and pursued the study of divinity with the late Dr. Pierce, of Brookline. He was ordained June 17, 1807, at the age of twenty-two, as pastor of a newly gathered Congregational church in Hingham, and at once identified himself with the Liberal party in the division which sundered the Congregational body in this Commonwealth. His circumstances compelled him to connect the instruction of pupils with his ministerial office, to the detriment of his health, which caused him finally to resign his parish, March 17, 1820, and to remove to Boston, where he pursued the employment of teaching, while he officiated from week to week in vacant pulpits. After having received and declined several invitations to become the pastor of churches near and at a distance, he again settled in the ministry, over a society formed for him at Salem, under the name of the Barton Square Independent Congregational Society. He was installed February 16, 1825, and retained his office until December 7, 1831. Consumptive symptoms had induced him to engage in agricultural labors, and, after he ceased to be a pastor, he devoted himself with much zeal and enthusiasm to these healthful pursuits, by carrying on an extensive farm at Deerfield, on the Connecticut meadows. This led to his employment by the Legislature on an Agricultural Survey of the State. His official reports in that capacity were of the highest value, and gave him an extensive reputation. After having edited for a time the "*Genesee Farmer*," he went on an agricultural mission to England and the Continent, in 1842. The fruits of his labors have been noticed in our pages. He returned home last fall with health impaired by exhausting employments, and with the hope of restoring it, and in discharge of a new commission, he soon made another voyage to England. Amid the kindest attentions and alleviations which devoted friendship could supply, though still among strangers, so called, he died, after a brief illness, of typhus, at Islington, near London, August 14, 1849.

Our remembrances of him are respectful, cheerful, and affectionate. His peculiarities, if he had any, were harmless, his tastes were pure, and his zeal and readiness to do kind actions were very prominent traits in his character. He was an effective preacher, and a man of a great versatility of gifts.

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